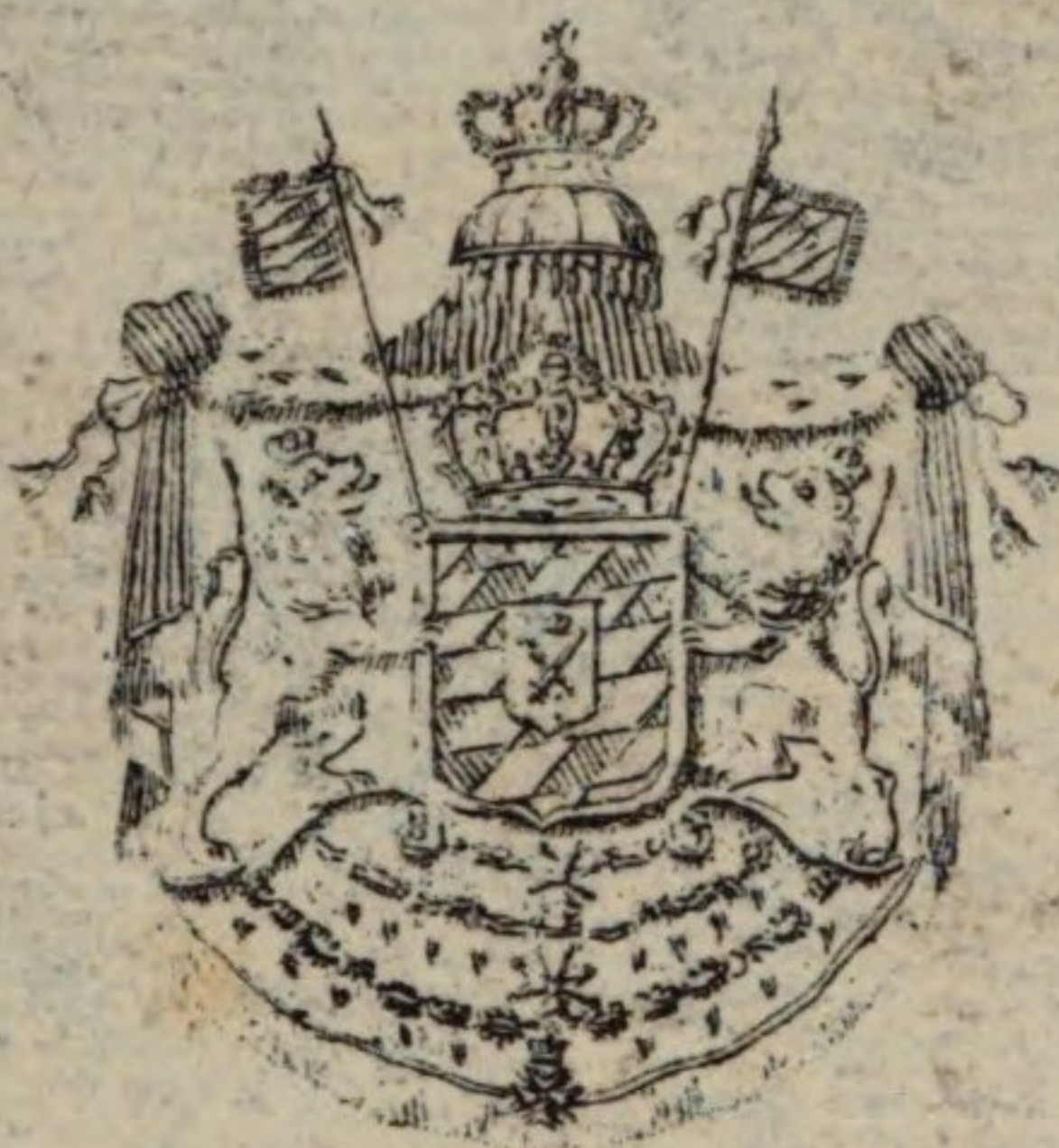






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Guthrie

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,
FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

L O N D O N,

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MDCCLXVII,

GENERAL HISTORY

OF SCOTLAND

SCOTLAND

SCOTLAND

FROM

THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS

TO

JAMES THE FIRST

THE CHURCH OF ALBANY

BY WILLIAM CUTHBERT

AND HIS STRANGER, AND HIS STRANGER

WITH THEIR STANNERS, HE WAS, AT THE SAME TIME,

INDIFFERENT AS TO THEIR PARTIES

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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.



JAMES THE FIFTH.

THE chusing the duke of Albany their regent was undoubtedly a wise measure for the Scots. If he was a stranger, and unacquainted with their manners, he was, at the same time, disinterested and indifferent as to their parties and divisions; and being a man of genius, it was easy for him to get such information as might fit him to be an excellent governor: nor did he deceive the expectation of the public. Upon his landing, he was waited upon by many of the Scotch nobility, and none seemed to make him more welcome than the queen herself. Looking upon himself as being already invested in the regency, he no sooner

A. D. 1515.
Duke of
Albany arrives in
Scotland.

A. D. 1515: arrived at Glasgow, than he took upon himself the titles of duke of Albany, earl of March, Mar, and Garioch, lord of Anandale, and of the Isle of Man, regent and protector of the kingdom of Scotland. From this it appears, that if the late duke of Albany was attainted, the sentence had been taken off, either during the late reign (which is by no means improbable) or in the present. The first indication of his abilities for government was his endeavouring to conciliate all differences between the principal families of the country; and no prince ever entered on the exercise of a regency with greater unanimity amongst all ranks of subjects, than he did. Upon his arrival at Edinburgh, he was received in form by the three estates of the kingdom; and the queen met him at some distance from the town. The parliament then resumed its session, and the three estates took an oath of obedience to the regent till their king should be declared of age, and he, one of fidelity to the king and the laws.

His good
conduct
there.

I have already mentioned the disordered state of Scotland at this time. Buchanan speaks of the head of the family of Struan Robertson as robbing with eight hundred men in his following; but he was at last overpowered and put to death. One Peter Muffat was another robber of that time, and so daring, that he appeared openly at court after the regent's arrival in Scotland; but the regent, without regard-
ing

ing any other consideration than that of his crimes, ordered him to be apprehended, tried, and publicly executed. These and many other instances of his firmness soon changed the face of affairs in Scotland. Order and decency took place; and the subjects, knowing they had now an authority on which they could depend, vigorously supported the civil government; but the regent was resolved that no Scotchman should be too great for the laws. The lord Drummond, a man of great power and influence, had, in a passion, struck Lyon king at arms, whose office as first herald in Scotland, and employed in all public transactions, ought to have rendered his person sacred. This was such a crime in the eyes of the regent, that he insisted upon Drummond being tried for his life; and it was with the greatest difficulty that, at the earnest solicitation of Lyon himself, and many of the chief nobility, he suffered him to escape with the forfeiture of his estate. As the regent's intention was probably no more than to humble a haughty nobleman, the forfeiture likewise was remitted, but not before Drummond had, upon his knees, acknowledged his offence, and submitted himself to Lyon. Before the parliament rose, many excellent statutes were passed for correcting public disorders; and the nation seemed unanimous in the praises of their new governor.

This

A. D. 1515.
Ambition
of cardinal
Wolsey.

This unanimity was far from answering either the expectations or wishes of the English court, or rather of Wolsey. The latter had depended upon the interest of the queen and her husband for balancing parties in Scotland in such a manner, as that the nobility might find themselves under a necessity to call in Henry, as being uncle of their young king, to take upon him the regency, by which the disposal of all the rich ecclesiastical livings in Scotland would have been left to the insatiable Wolsey, whose eyes were now fixed upon the popedom. Before the parliament rose, intelligence had arrived that Henry had actually ordered his ambassadors at the court of Rome to give him the title of regent of Scotland, and to solicit for him the disposal of all the church-livings in that kingdom. The nobility of Scotland affected to distrust this information; and on the thirtieth of July a letter was drawn up and signed, in the name of the young king and the three estates, directed to the pope and the college of cardinals, which has been published by Rymer, but has been omitted by the Scotch historians. In this letter his holiness is informed, that the duke of Albany had been constituted regent of Scotland by the voice of the parliament, and even the consent of their king's most illustrious mother; and therefore his holiness is prayed to give the same credence to Albany's letters as he had done to those of
the

Rymer,
vol. XIII.
p. 514.

the late king. They then mention the proceedings of Henry's embassadors at Rome only as reports which they could not credit, because Henry's ancestors had never pretended to such prerogatives. They speak of Scotland as having been an ancient and an independent kingdom, governed by its own sovereigns, and, during their minority, by their next in blood: that as such a claim would never be admitted by the people, it must, if prosecuted, be the source of incredible mischief; and therefore his holiness is prayed to discourage all Henry's pretensions of that kind, and to bestow the prelaties of the kingdom according to the duke of Albany's recommendation. From this letter it appears, that, notwithstanding all the precautions that had been taken to guard Scotland against the papal encroachments, yet still it was thought necessary that his holiness should confirm prelates, and other ecclesiastics, in their promotions.

Among all the persons whom the regent applied to for information concerning the state of Scotland, he found none who gave him so much satisfaction as Hepburn prior of St. Andrew's, whom I have already mentioned on account of his contest for that archbishopric. Two of the most elegant historians of their respective times have transmitted to us a detail of the information given by Hepburn to the duke, I mean Buchanan and Drummond; and, upon

The regent
directed by
Hepburn.

A. D. 1515. upon the whole, they are pretty consistent with each other. Both of them disliked Hepburn's character; but, admitting their representations to be just, he must have been a man of great abilities and knowledge of life, a judge of parties, and an able, though vindictive, politician. He acquainted the duke of all the particulars relating to the feuds and animosities that prevailed among both the great and middling families; of their ferocious resentments, their close combinations, and how little they regarded virtue or innocence, when vested in a person whose name was of an opposite faction. He is said to have characterized them as being of dispositions worse than barbarous; for the more innocent a person was, of an opposite faction, the putting him to death was considered as a proof of their greater attachment to their own clan. He represented the civil power as being too weak to bring those enormous offenders to justice, because they were commonly rescued from punishment; and he gave it as his opinion, that the regent's authority must be supported by foreign arms, meaning those of France. He next characterized the chief heads of parties (particularly the earls of Angus and Hume, and archbishop Forman) but no way to their advantage.

who
schemes
the earl of
Hume's
ruin.

Though historians are agreed that Hepburn had gained an ascendancy over the regent, by the force of money laid out among his French
and

and other domestics, by a fawning, plausible, address, and other unjustifiable measures, yet they own, at the same time, that the duke took no more of his advice than he thought proper. He saw that the earl of Angus was a dissipated young nobleman, intent on pleasure and diversion, and neglecting all affairs of state. As to Forman, he had been acquainted with him abroad; and he knew his sentiments and disregard for money too well to imagine that he would employ either his credit, or his large revenue, in disturbing the government. The character which Hepburn drew of Hume sunk the deeper in the regent's mind, as he knew by experience his arbitrary disposition, and his extensive power. The very means he had employed in raising himself to the regency, were now so many arguments for reducing him and his family to a level with other subjects; and he waited only for an opportunity to execute that purpose, to which he was incessantly prompted by Hepburn. The earl of Hume, as lord chamberlain, having often occasion to repair to court, soon discovered an alteration in the regent's behaviour towards him and his friends; and understanding that Hepburn was the favourite, he could be at no loss to know from whence it proceeded. He bewailed, both in public and private, his having been instrumental in the regent's advancement; he ripped up the demerits of his father,

A.D. 1515. the danger of Scotland being rendered a province of France; he acknowledged his mistaken conduct, and at last frankly offered to connect himself with the queen-dowager and her husband.

Intrigues
against the
regent,

The alliance was soon accepted; and the earl of Angus, who was far from being unsusceptible of ambition, concurred with Hume in alarming the mother for the safety of her two sons, as the regent was next heir to the crown; and it was at last resolved that the queen should take the first opportunity to fly with the royal infants into England. The regent, during those consultations, was making a progress through Scotland, that he might learn by his own eyes the state of the kingdom, which he found even more deplorable than he had been informed of. Upon the borders, a civil judge was not to be heard of; and the inhabitants knew no authority but what was vested in the earl of Angus or Hume. When he came to the western parts, he found them full of bloody feuds, occasioned by the families of Montgomery, Kilmaurs, and Sempel. In the North, the earl of Murray (natural son to the late king) and the earl of Errol opposed the earl of Huntley, lord lieutenant; but, before the regent could apply any remedy to those disorders, he received, from some emissaries he had at Stirling, private intelligence of what had been concerted by the queen and her faction, which obliged

obliged him to return to Edinburgh. He was A. D. 1515. remarkable for his dispatch, and the quick execution of what he had resolved on; and as no time was to be lost, he set out at midnight, attended by about a thousand soldiers, for Stirling-castle, which he easily surpris'd, and found in it the queen and her two sons.

This was a bold stroke in the regent, but he discovered by his conduct that the safety of the royal infants was his chief aim. Being sensible of the calumnies his enemies had propagated on account of his propinquity to the crown, he committed the care of the king and his brother to three of the most unexceptionable noblemen in the kingdom, and the lord Erskine, governor of the castle; but I have been able to recover the name of only one of those noblemen, the earl of Lenox. They were charged to attend the royal infants by turns. The regent entirely divested himself of the custody of their persons, and a guard, consisting partly of Scots and partly of French, was appointed for their safety. As to the queen, no restraint was laid upon her person, and she was left at liberty to reside where she pleased. This quick proceeding of the regent seems entirely to have disconcerted his enemies. The earl of Hume retired to his own estate, from whence he was driven by the earls of Arran and Lenox into England, where, at the head of a tumultuary band, he harraßed the Scotch borders.

who disap-
points them.

A.D. 1515. He was a fresh example how effectually a steady administration of government can quell the strongest aristocratical connections; for he was the most powerful subject that Scotland had seen since the reduction of the last earl of Douglas. The queen and her husband, with his brother, Sir George Douglas, retired first to their castle of Tantallon, and from thence to Berwic, where they received a convoy to Coldstream nunnery. Messengers were then dispatched to know Henry's pleasure how his sister should be disposed of; and he ordered the lord Dacres, his warden of the marches, respectfully to attend her to Harbottle-castle in Northumberland, which he assigned her for the place of her residence; and there she was delivered of her daughter, the lady Mary Douglas, mother (by her husband, the earl of Lenox) to Henry lord Darnley, father to James the first of England.

His vigorous proceedings.

Thus far the regent's conduct was blameless; but, though the breach between him and the queen seemed now to be irreconcilable, he sent ambassadors to the court of England to account for his conduct; to satisfy Henry that he had done nothing but what was just and regular; and to inform him that his sister might return to Scotland in safety, and command admittance at all times to her sons. She declined this offer, however, and went to London, where she was magnificently and affectionately received by her brother, the king of Eng-

England, and her sister, the queen-dowager of France. The public commotions were now encreased to such a degree, that many acts of violence which were then perpetrated have passed unnoticed by Drummond and Buchanan. Lindsay mentions an assembly of the queen's party at Glasgow, and their intercepting the cargoes of some French ships laden with money and artillery. The governor having raised some men to dislodge them out of Glasgow, archbishop Forman interposed; and laying before them the folly and injustice of their proceedings, he prevailed with them to leave the city without bloodshed. A kind of a negotiation was then entered into by the mediation of the archbishop; and the regent offered the lords a pardon for all that was past, if they would return to their duty. Some of them accordingly accepted of it, and, among others, the earl of Angus, which drew from Henry the eighth that passionate but unjust sarcasm, "That the earl, by deserting his wife, had acted like a Scot." Whether the bishop of Dunkeld had given particular offence to the regent does not appear; but Lesly says, that he and Panter, who had been secretary of state in the late reign, were put under confinement; but this I am inclined to think is meant only of the bishop's former confinement. The lord Hume refusing to surrender himself, or to accept of the regent's terms, was denounced a traitor,

A. D. 1515. traitor, and his estate confiscated. He again filled the borders with his devastations; and the regent suddenly advancing at the head of about a thousand disciplined troops, the earl thought proper to lay down his arms, and to put himself into the regent's hands, but upon what terms we know not; so that his submission has a mysterious aspect. I am inclined to think that he did it by the persuasion of his friends, who engaged for more in his favour than the regent was willing to perform.

The earl of
Hume im-
prisoned.

Be that as it may, he certainly was sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, where he was committed to the custody of his brother-in-law, the earl of Arran, with a charge, under the pain of felony, not to suffer him to escape. This, it must be owned, was a very unaccountable step of the regent. The earl of Hume soon found means to inspire Arran with ambitious thoughts. He represented Scotland as being held in chains by a Frenchman, and the son of a traitor; that the regent had only his French dependents to trust to; that he had forfeited his regency; and that, if he was at liberty, nothing could be more easy than to transfer it to the earl of Arran. His arguments were the more plausible, as the earl of Angus was, in a manner, now out of the question. He took no concern in the affairs of government, and was low in the estimation of both parties on account of his irresolute conduct; for he is
said,

said, at this time, to have taken refuge in France. The earl of Arran being convinced by Hume's reasoning, resolved to partake with him in his flight; and accordingly they both escaped to the borders about the latter end of October, and lost no time in renewing hostilities. A.D. 1515.

Notwithstanding those rebellious proceedings, it is certain that the parliament which was then sitting, with the bulk of the nation, were firmly attached to the regent, whose conduct was in all respects irreproachable; and if he was guilty of any mistakes, it was on the side of clemency, and because he was a stranger. The earl of Hume and his brother were again proclaimed traitors; but the earl was allowed fifteen days to surrender himself. The regent made use of that short time in making head against this new rebellion; and the parliament had voted him fifteen thousand men for that purpose. He then marched at the head of a sufficient force, and a train of artillery, against the castle of Hamilton, the earl of Arran's chief feat, which he besieged. The place was in no condition to make a defence; but an irresistible advocate now appeared in the earl's favour. This was no other than that venerable princess, daughter to James the second, mother to the earl of Arran, and aunt to the regent, who craved a parley of him, and obtained not only a cessation of all hostilities, but a pardon Proceedings
of parlia-
ment.

for Arran
pardoned.

A. D. 1515. for her son, provided he would return to his duty. The earl, who seems to have been an irrefolute nobleman, no sooner received intelligence of this, than he privately abandoned Hume, and prevailed with Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor of Scotland, to introduce him to the regent, who received him again into favour.

Public disturbances.

During the regent's absence upon this short expedition, the parliament continued still to sit; but the public tranquillity was broken by the confederacy which had been formed against the earl of Huntley, at the head of which was the earl of Murray, the king's natural brother. Huntley was too well attended to fear any danger by day; but his enemies finding means to introduce some armed troops by stealth, in the night-time, into Edinburgh, a fierce skirmish ensued, in which several were killed on both parties; and the event would have been still more fatal, had not the regent interposed, and put all the lords into prison till he brought about a general reconciliation among all parties; but one Hay, who had been the fire-brand of their quarrels, was banished to France. The earl of Hume still continued in arms, and I find that his mother (though I know not upon what account) was confined in the regent's castle of Dunbar; but the earl, by intercepting Lyon king at arms with dispatches for the English government, and making him pri-

prisoner, obliged the regent to set her at liberty; and thus ended the busy tumultuous year 1515. A. D. 1515.

In January 1516, died the young duke of Rothsay; and his death brought the regent one degree nearer to the crown. It was therefore thought proper to re-assemble the parliament, which had risen some time before, and to settle the succession. The regent was accordingly declared next heir to the throne, upon the demise of young James; and the states unanimously recognized him as such. This recognition was of the utmost consequence to the regent, because he had, at this time, an elder brother alive by his father's first wife, daughter to the earl of Orkney and Caithness. It is said that he obtained a divorce from her on account of propinquity of blood; but it was, perhaps, fortunate for the regent that Alexander, the issue of the marriage, was a man of no ambition, and renounced all his claim of blood, upon being appointed bishop of Murray. Before the parliament rose, it was thought proper to renew the peace with England; and the states accordingly sent letters to Henry, requesting six months safe-conduct for the bishops of Galloway, Dumblane, and Caithness, the commendators of the abbeyes of Ferm and Kelso, James earl of Morton, lord Dalkeith, Hugh earl of Eglington, lord Montgomery, William earl of Cassils, lord Kennedy, Sir Da-

1516.
Death of
the duke of
Rothsay,
and the
regent de-
clared suc-
cessor to the
throne.

A. D. 1516.

vid Lindsay, Sir William Keith, Sir William Scot, Ogilvy, a prothonotary, and Patric Coventry, dean of the collegiate church of Restalrig, with one hundred attendants. The letters were granted, and they permitted the Scotch commissioners to come into Henry's presence. He appointed commissioners, on his part, to treat with them; but upon their meeting, the English demands ran very high. The Scotch commissioners informed those of England, that having no instructions to treat about a removal of the regent from his trust, or a restitution of Hume and his friends to their honours and estates, it would be proper, in the mean time, for Henry to send commissioners to the borders, to treat with those appointed by the regent, that the truce might be renewed. Henry accordingly sent a new sett of commissioners to Coldingham, and they met with those named by the regent, who were, Duplains, the French embassador, Sir William Scot (who was likewise in the former commission) and Gawin Dunbar, archdeacon of St. Andrew's; and it was agreed, that, provided no injury was offered to the party of the Humes and the Douglasses, the truce should be prolonged to Whitsunday following.

Trans-
actions of
the English
ministry,

The intermediate time was employed by the English ministry in endeavouring to displace the regent; and Henry, who was then resolved on a war with France, offered his protection
and

and assistance to the earl of Arran, if the latter would make another effort for that purpose. The earl accordingly (though he had given hostages for his good behaviour) fortified his castle, and seized upon the royal magazines at Glasgow; but an accommodation was brought once more about by archbishop Forman. Besides Arran, the earls of Lenox and Glencairn opposed the regent on this occasion; but the latter chose to follow moderate measures, that he might be the more in a capacity of doing service to France. A. D. 1516.

Henry's scheme of displacing the regent being thus baffled, the negociations in England were resumed; and a congress was held between the Scotch commissioners and the bishop of Durham, Dacres, the English lord-warden, and Thomas Magnus, clerk, on the part of Henry. In their conferences the English insisted strongly for the removal of the duke of Albany from the regency, and upon the impropriety of suffering the next in succession to the crown to be guardian of the king's person; and that no solid foundation for a peace could be laid between the two kingdoms, unless the removal was agreed to as a preliminary. The Scots said, that they had no orders to treat upon that head, but promised to deliver to the estates of Scotland any letter they might be charged with by Henry on the subject. Such a letter was accordingly drawn up on the first of June following, who are baffled.

A. D. 1516. lowing, in which Henry said, that if the duke of Albany was not removed from the regency, and sent back to France, he would pursue what measures he thought proper for his nephew's safety. Before the conferences ended, the truce was prolonged to the feast of St. Andrew's.

The parliament vindicates the regent.

The parliament of Scotland, which had been prorogued in May, was re-assembled upon the arrival of the commissioners at Edinburgh with Henry's letter; but when it was read, the contents of it were unanimously rejected, and an answer was drawn up. In this answer we have some particulars which are not to be found in historians. It was urged, that the duke of Albany had been appointed regent by the unanimous voice of the three states of the kingdom, according to the laws of Scotland, and the constitution of other countries, as being the next in blood. With regard to the objection urged by Henry, that he was therefore a very improper person to be regent, it was observed, that his province, as such, had no connection with the custody of the king's person, which was committed to other noblemen, who acted under a separate and independent trust; and that the servants about him were those who had been approved of by the queen his mother, who was appealed to for the truth of what was asserted. The title of this paper, which was printed by Mr. Rymer, is, "Answer
of

of Refusal to the King of England, touching his Advice to remove the Duke of Albany from the Governmentship of the young King of Scots, sealed with the Seals of the Chiefs of Scotland." It appears that the earl of Hume was, at this time, again reconciled to the government, as he was, as well as the earl of Lenox, among the noblemen who signed this letter.

Henry was far from expecting such firmness and unanimity in a nobility which he had taken so much pains to divide; for, besides the expressions I have mentioned in the letter, it contained the highest encomiums upon the person and virtues of the regent. He appointed the lords Dacres and Magnus to renew their conferences about peace with the Scotch commissioners who had delivered the letter; and the conduct of the regent was equally wise, firm, and honest. Without regarding his attachment to France, he sincerely wished for a peace with Henry, as he knew that he was in no condition to support a war against the English arms, and their friends in Scotland. He sent Fayette, the chief officer under him, to pay his respects to Henry, and offered, if that prince desired it, to repair in person to London for that purpose; and Fayette, at the same time, presented him with the articles of a truce, which were referred to Wolsey, who made no other alteration in them but prolonging the truce to the feast of St. Andrew's 1517, at the request,

A truce
agreed upon.

A.D. 1516. request, as he said, of the kings of Castile and Denmark, and comprehending in it the commerce of both nations, and that of their allies. The articles were as follow :

Its contents.

“ First, That the truce shall be prolonged from the feast of St. Andrew’s last past, to the feast of St. John the Baptist, 1517.

“ Secondly, That the articles concluded on the first of June last, shall remain in their full vigour.

“ Thirdly, That as by one of these articles all the queen of Scotland’s jewels and moveables were restored to her, she shall restore, within three months, those belonging to her son the king of Scotland, which she may have in her possession.

“ Fourthly, That the duke of Albany, or, in his absence, his lieutenant, shall take care that the queen be regularly paid her dowry.

“ Fifthly, That the queen’s husband, the earl of Angus, shall, with permission from those who have the government of the Scottish king, be allowed to repair to England, or elsewhere, to see his wife ; provided always, he commit nothing to the prejudice of his sovereign.

“ Sixthly, That the queen shall be allowed to go and see her son, unmolested, and without passports ; and may either reside in England or Scotland, as she pleases.

“ Seventhly, That neither king shall protect the rebels of the other during the truce, and the

the wardens or their deputies shall redress any A.D. 1516.
infractions, according to the ancient customs of
the borders.

“ Eighthly, That the king’s person shall be
disposed of according to the will of his coun-
cil, and the three estates in parliament, on
condition (adds Wolsey, in the name of his
master) such a disposal may be for his safety.

“ Ninthly, That all the friends and allies of
the queen, on account of her marriage with
the earl of Angus, shall be allowed to return
to Scotland, and live there, provided they be-
haved as became peaceful subjects; which if
they did not, their punishment was to be that
of any similar delinquent.

“ Tenthly, But as it has been said that the
Scots had violated the terms (which however
they denied) upon which they were compre-
hended in the treaty with France, the enquiry
into that affair to be delayed till the first diet.”

This treaty, which was ratified by Henry
on the last of December 1516, by the duke of
Albany on the eighth of January following,
and by the states of Scotland on the twentieth
of the same month, was entirely approved of
by the Scotch parliament, and did great ho-
nour to the regent. Even his enemies were
now convinced of his inviolable attachment to
the king, and his disinterested administration;
while he himself resolved to improve his popu-
larity, by endeavouring to make the Scots for-
get

1517.
Fidelity of
the regent.

A.D. 1517. get that he was a Frenchman. He took into his favour the bishop of Dunkeld, and Panter, whom he had formerly imprisoned. He persuaded archbishop Forman, who was the pope's legate in Scotland, to grant him the disposal of certain ecclesiastical benefices, which he bestowed upon the sons or kinsmen of those whom he knew to be most averse to his interest. He seemed to be fully reconciled to the earl of Angus and his friends, and did nothing without the advice of the earl of Hume. This conduct shews the regent to have been a thorough politician; but bishop Lesley blames him for making family-interest his sole consideration in his distribution of ecclesiastical preferments. The regent, imagining that he had now extinguished faction in Scotland, retired, for some part of the summer, to his castle of Falkland, to relieve himself after the great fatigues of government he had undergone. Historians are unanimous that he was followed in this retreat by his wicked counsellor, Hepburn, who pretended that the earl of Hume was still continuing his dangerous practices against the state, and that his safety was incompatible with that of the king and kingdom. According to our historians, he added a variety of other arguments, which they have minutely related, and very possibly were of their own invention; for it required no great art to bring the regent to resolve upon the de-

A. D. 1517.

destruction of that nobleman and his brother, both of them being of the same principles, and of equal abilities. The state of affairs between England and France, where the regent's wife lived, besides private concerns, demanded his presence in that country; and he thought that sound policy required him not to leave behind him so turbulent a nobleman as the earl of Hume. Under pretence of finishing all the differences which remained unsettled with England, he called a convention of the nobility (which was not properly a parliament) to meet at Edinburgh in September, and sent special letters to the earl of Hume and his brother to attend, on account of the great knowledge and experience they had in the affairs of England. Some suspicious circumstances awakened the jealousy of Hume's friends, and they advised him and his brother to be upon their guard. They, however, repaired to Edinburgh, and the earl appeared at the convention which was held in the abbey of Holyrood-house; but his brother refused, at first, to attend.

The earl was received in the council with great demonstrations of friendship from the regent, who acquainted the assembly, that as it was thought proper to conclude a firm peace with England, and that an embassy should be sent for that effect to Henry, he knew no man more fit to be put at the head of it than the earl's brother, William. The regent dissem-

The earl of Hume and his brother betrayed and be-headed.

A.D. 1517.

bled so well, that the earl thought him sincere; and pulling a ring from his finger, the signal which had been concerted between them, he sent it to his brother, as a token that he might repair with safety to the abbey. William obeyed the summons; but no sooner did he enter the abbey-gates, than they were shut upon him, and he found himself a prisoner in the midst of the regent's French guards, who carried him on board a ship at Leith, and confined him in the castle of Inchgarvy. The earl of Hume was arrested at the same time, and sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. Those proceedings hitherto might have been defensible, had any new matter of treason been proved against them upon their trial. The earl of Murray appeared as a chief prosecutor, and attempted to prove that his father, the late king, had been seen on the Scotch side of the Tweed after the battle of Floddon-field, and that he had been murdered by the earl of Hume; but he failed in every part of the evidence to support the charge. The earl was next accused of not doing his duty in the battle of Floddon, but that part of the prosecution seems likewise to have fallen to the ground; and it was thought proper to bring against him an accumulated charge of treason. He and his brother were accused of putting themselves at the head of robbers and out-laws, and of having suffered the English to fortify the castle of
Nor.

Norham, when it was the earl's duty, and in his power, as lord-warden of the marches, to have prevented them. According to Drummond, the regent informed the judges (he should have said the jury) in the directions he gave them, that the earl and his brother had been guilty of a crime so heinous and odious, that it was not fit to be made public. We are ignorant as to the defence made by the earl and his brother to this vague, unsupported, accusation; and it is sufficient to say, that both of them were condemned to lose their heads; which sentence was put in execution upon the earl next day, being the eleventh of October, and upon his brother William the day following. Andrew Carr of Farnihurst, a friend to the Humes, who had been arrested at the same time, was tried and condemned likewise; but found means, either by money or favour, to escape.

The iniquitous execution of the Humes proves, that whatever virtues the regent might have, he was arbitrary in matters of government; and indeed the odium into which it threw him defeated all his best intentions for the service of Scotland. The exposing the heads of the Humes upon the most conspicuous parts of Edinburgh, still farther exasperated the public. It was now his misfortune that he could not firmly rely on the affections of any Scotchman. The nobility did not in-

De la Beaute, a Frenchman, made lord-warden.

A.D. 1517.

deed rise in arms, because they were overawed, and many of them, no doubt, were glad that the Humes were removed, though they did not approve of the proceedings against them; but it was easy to see that their affections towards him were cool, and he found himself under great difficulties how to fill up the important posts that were vacant by the earl of Hume's death. That of lord-warden of the marches could admit of no delay in supplying it; and the regent thought it most conducive for his interest to give it to his French favourite, La Beaute, whom the Scotch historians call Sir Anthony D'Arcy. He was every way qualified for the trust, which was then reckoned the highest of any in the kingdom; and the regent apologized for bestowing it upon a foreigner, who, he said, having no family-connections in the country, would exercise it with the greatest impartiality. As to the post of lord-chamberlain, the regent gave it to lord Fleming.

The old
league with
France
confirmed.

D'Arcy was vain and ambitious enough to enter upon a charge which in prudence he ought to have declined. Soon after his appointment, the regent raised an army, on pretence of some commotions upon the borders, which he soon quelled; but on his return he seized the person of the earl of Lenox, and forced him to deliver up the castle of Dumbarton, not chusing to leave it, during his intended

tended absence in France, in custody of a nobleman of suspected fidelity. About this time, ambassadors arrived from thence to confirm, as usual, the old league between the two nations, and to demand that a deputation for the same purpose should be sent to their master from Scotland. The parliament meeting on the occasion, it was easy for the regent's friends to find fair pretexts, by his own direction, to move that he himself should be employed in the embassy, which was agreed to, upon his promising that he should not be absent from the kingdom above six months. He then applied himself to the settlement of the government during his absence, and named for his deputies the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, the earls of Arran, Angus, Huntley, and Argyll, with the warden, D'Arcy, on whom was his chief dependence. To make as equal a partition of power among them as he could, the government of the Merse and Lothians was allotted to D'Arcy; and each of the other governors were to superintend that part of the country which lay most contiguous to his own estates. He ordered the king to be removed from the castle of Stirling to that of Edinburgh, and committed to the care of the earl-marshal, the lords Ruthven and Borthwic, and the lord Erskine, who was, upon no account, to be dismissed from his attendance upon the royal person. He then filled the castles of Dun-

bar,

A.D. 1517.

The regent
goes to
France.

A. D. 1517. bar, Dumbarton, and Garvet (which I apprehend is the same with that of Inchgarvy) with French garrisons, to whom he committed the custody of certain western barons, on no other pretext but that they might be kept quiet during his absence. It was with a like view that he chose the earl of Lenox, and the eldest sons of the earls of Arran, Huntley, and Glencairn, on pretence of their education, to attend him in his embassy, as he did the bishop of Dunkeld and secretary Panter, to do honour to Scotch literature abroad. Every thing being thus settled, he set sail for France from Dumbarton about the middle of July.

The queen-mother denied admittance to her son.

Upon the departure of the regent, the queen left the English court, and arrived, with a noble retinue, at Berwic, where she was received by her husband. Either his infidelity to her bed, or her resentment at his having left her to make peace with the regent, had now given her an invincible disgust to his person, which she strove, however, to hide; and they arrived together at Edinburgh, where, in consequence of the agreement that had been made with the regent, she demanded access to her son, but met with a denial. I have not discovered any colour for this barbarous treatment of that princess, unless that of the truce being now expired; so that the true reason was because D'Arcy, who now acted, in fact, as regent, was afraid of trusting the young king to his mother's custody,

custody, lest she should carry him into Eng- A. D. 1517.
land; but the lord Erskine, being a nobleman
of great humanity, without paying much re-
gard to D'Arcy, removed his royal charge to
the castle of Craigmillar (where D'Arcy had
no power) on pretence that the plague was in
Edinburgh, and there the queen was admitted
to visit her son. This was so disagreeable to
D'Arcy, and some of the other governors,
that the lord Erskine was obliged to carry the
king back to the castle of Edinburgh, and all
farther access to him was prohibited to his
mother.

D'Arcy, though haughty and violent, proved
an excellent justiciary, and generally resided
in the castle of Dunbar, that he might be at
hand to quell the borderers, who, over-awed
by this neighbourhood, remained quiet, tho'
much disconcerted. The other governors, ei-
ther from regard to his merits, or as a bait for
his destruction, threw the whole executive part
of their duties upon D'Arcy, by making him
sole deputy; but promised to be ready to assist
him, if there was occasion, with all their power.
Probably this compliment rendered him too
presumptuous; and a plot was laid for his
ruin, by a seeming quarrel between William
Cockburn, assisted by Sir David Hume of Wed-
derburn, and the guardians of Cockburn of
Langton, Cockburn's nephew, on account of a
castle from which the young man and his guar-
dians

La Beaute
murdered.

A. D. 1517. dians had been forcibly ejected. Complaint of this outrage being brought to the deputy, he set out, attended by some gentlemen of the South, who were secretly friends to the Hume family, and a small party of his French soldiers. In his way to Duns (where he proposed to hold a court of justice for enquiring into the riot) he fell into an ambuscade, formed by the Humes of Wedderburn, who cut off all his attendants; and he himself, endeavouring to escape back to Dunbar by the swiftness of his horse, was plunged into a marsh, where he was beset by his enemies, who struck off his head. Lindsay says, that his hair being long and plaited, Hume of Wedderburn knit it on his fiddle-bow, and carrying it to the castle of Hume, it was exposed upon the battlements.

Prosecution
of the mur-
derers.

Though it cannot be supposed that the death of D'Arcy gave any sensible concern to the other governors, yet they found it necessary to proceed with the utmost severity against his murderers (whom they forfeited) and to fill up his post, which was bestowed upon the earl of Arran. This is a kind of proof that the other governors were by no means in the English interest; and the earl of Angus was at no pains to conceal his disgust at the preference which had been given to the earl of Arran. The latter, sensible of his own power, committed his competitor's brother, Sir George Douglas, to the castle of Edinburgh, and his friend,

A. D. 1517.

friend, Mark Carr, to that of Garvet. This state of affairs rendered it necessary to call a parliament, which met at Edinburgh in the month of October. There many of the Humes and Cockburns were denounced rebels, and orders were given for the new lord-war-den to seize the castles of Hume, Langton, and Wedderburn, which surrendered at discretion.

The regent duke still remained in France ; and, though he continued to be in high favour with Francis, that prince blamed him for his imprudence in leaving a Frenchman to be his deputy in Scotland. He promised, however, to support his authority there to the utmost of his power, and solemnly confirmed the ancient league between the two kingdoms. One of the originals was sent over by the bishop of Dunkeld to Scotland, where it was received in general with great approbation. A vote of thanks was returned to the regent for his conduct both at home and abroad, and the treaty itself was ratified in parliament, which soon after broke up. At this time, the earl of Lenox arrived from France with new assurances of protection and assistance from that king, who was highly pleased at their proceedings, and the zeal they discovered for punishing the murderers of D'Arcy. Accordingly five hundred French soldiers landed in Scotland,

French
auxiliaries
land in
Scotland.

A. D. 1517.

1518.

land, as a reinforcement for the garrisons there, especially that of Dunbar. The queen remained still at Edinburgh, employed in finding out the means of procuring a divorce from her husband, on pretence of a pre-contract between him and the earl of Bothwell's daughter. By this time, Francis and Henry, by the address of Wolsey, had come to so good an understanding, that a marriage had been agreed upon between the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter to Henry; and a treaty was concluded between the two nations. This treaty was discovered by the queen-mother of Scotland, who, on account of her conduct, had of late been neglected by Henry; and she made it a handle for strengthening her party. She exclaimed against her brother, as well as Francis, for their insidious dealing; and accused the latter of ingratitude for having betrayed the interests of the Scots, to whom his crown owed such obligations. The Scotch historians have joined in the same charge against Francis; but when the treaty afterwards appeared, it was found that the king and kingdom of Scotland are the first allies named on the part of his most Christian majesty. The French ambassadors undertook to inform James and his council of this comprehension before the twenty-fifth of December, after which time, neither of the kings, their lieutenants, nor wardens, were

were to invade the territories of the other with any body of men *. Previous to the conclusion of this treaty, Clarencieux, herald, and La Fayette, as agents for Francis and the regent, arrived in Scotland, and concluded a truce for a year and a day. A. D. 1518.

This security against foreign invasion seemed to open the sources of civil dissension, and the peace of the nation was again threatened. The earl of Rothes and lord Lindsay disputed, at the head of their respective armed followings, who should be sheriff of Fife; but the governors committed one of them to the castle of Dunbar, and the other to that of Dumbarton. Lord Lindsay, however, I find, prevailed in his pretensions; but I perceive that, about eleven years after, the sheriffdom was settled hereditably in the family of Rothes. Hume of Wedderburn was still at liberty; and this year murdered Blackader, the prior of Coldingham, a young man, with six of his followers; and many other murders and commotions happened in other parts of the country. The earl of Arran had, indeed, the chief direction of Scotch affairs; but the earl of Angus had still great interest, and waited every opportunity to oppose him. The report continuing that the plague was in Edinburgh, the earl of Arran carried the king to the castle of Dalkeith, about the time that the citizens of

1519.
Civil dis-
sensions
there,

* Cum quocunque numero.

A. D. 1519. Edinburgh used to elect their magistrates. Upon the earl's return from Dalkeith, he found the gates of Edinburgh shut against him by the inhabitants, on pretence that he intended to over-awe the election. His party within the town resented this, and the night passed in mutual bickerings; but the deacon of the crafts, one of the principal inhabitants, being killed by the favourers of Arran, the affections of the citizens in general were transferred to Angus, whose agents had fomented the quarrel; and the difference between those two noblemen soon became a public concern.

and upon
the borders.

The earl of Angus, now that the family of Hume was under a cloud, seems then to have been the most powerful nobleman on the borders. David Carr, baron of Farniherst (the same who had so narrowly escaped being executed along with the Humes) pretended to a right of holding courts on the forest of Jedburgh, which the earl of Angus claimed as his property. Both parties appealed to arms; and Sir James Hamilton, natural son to the earl of Arran, declared himself in favour of Carr, and marched with a considerable following of his own name, and the borderers, to Kelso. The baron of Cessford, who was one of the wardens of the marches, took part with the Douglasses, and intercepted Hamilton in his march, who being abandoned by the borderers, fled to Hume-castle; and next day Carr submitted to act

A.D. 1517.

act as bailiff to the earl of Angus. The wiser part of the nation apprehended dreadful consequences from the quarrel between those two great families; and many treaties of accommodation were brought upon the carpet, but without effect. The earl of Angus, notwithstanding his difference with his wife, the queen-dowager, was considered as the head of the English party in Scotland, and as being now too powerful a subject. The chancellor, archbishop Beaton, and the chief lords in the West, were of that opinion, and declared themselves in favour of the earl of Arran; and at last it was agreed that a parliament should be summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty-ninth of April. The Hamilton party excepted against the place, because Sir Archibald Douglas, a friend and dependent of the earl of Angus, was provost of the town; but that objection was soon removed, by Sir Archibald resigning his power to Robert Logan of Restalrig; upon which, archbishop Beaton, and all the Hamilton party, repaired to Edinburgh, but with no pacific intentions.

1520.

Their place of rendezvous was in the archbishop's house, where they consulted not upon the means of restoring the public tranquillity, but on those of engrossing all the power of government into their own hands; and at last they resolved to confine Angus. Their consultations came to his knowledge, who employed

History of
the encounter
at Edinburgh,
called
Cleanse the
Causeway.

A. D. 1520.

ployed his brother, the bishop of Dunkeld, as the most proper agent with the archbishop, to divert the party from their desperate purposes. The bishop accordingly repaired to the archbishop, laid before him the consequences of their consultations, and conjured him, as a churchman, to concur with him in restoring the public tranquillity. He told him, at the same time, that he was commissioned by his nephew to inform the party, that he was ready to answer before parliament to all the charges that had been brought against him. By this time, the earl of Arran and the archbishop's party had poured into the town in such numbers, that they thought themselves superior in force to the earl of Angus, whose attendants did not amount to above four hundred, but those resolute and well armed; and Arran had given orders to make sure of the town-gates. Angus, however, during his brother's conference with the archbishop, seized on the eastern gate, called the Nether-bow, and there drew up his men in warlike array. As a combat had been foreseen, the fiery archbishop had put on armour under his cassock. Having heard what the bishop of Dunkeld had to say, he enumerated the causes of discontent which the earl of Arran had at Angus, but at the same time blamed the former; and ended his speech by saying, "There is no remedy, upon my conscience; I cannot help it." He pronounced those

those words with such emotion, that clapping his hand upon his breast, the plates of the coat of mail rung under his cassock. "How now, my lord, replied the bishop, I perceive your conscience is not good, for I hear it clatter." The bishop then leaving the archbishop, went to Sir Patric Hamilton, brother to Arran, and acquainted him with all he had said to the archbishop, adding, that the earl of Angus desired no more than liberty to pay a visit to the queen in the castle, and to leave the town peaceably. This request was so reasonable, that Arran would have granted it, had he not been dissuaded by his natural son, Sir James Hamilton, who reproached Sir Patric with cowardice, because of his pacific disposition.

This reproach stung Sir Patric so much, that he told Sir James he would that day be seen where the other durst not appear; and putting himself at the head of his brother's party, he rushed furiously upon that of the earl of Angus, who was still maintaining his post. Seeing him advance considerably before the rest, that earl, who had a value for the man, called out to save him, but not time enough to prevent his being killed, with the lord Montgomery's eldest son, who fought on Arran's side. After a sharp dispute, the Hamilton party was routed; and it was with great difficulty that the earl and his natural son escaped, seventy-two of their men being left dead in the encounter.

The

A. D. 1520. The archbishop took refuge in the church of the Black Friars, where he was taken from behind the high altar. His rochet was torn from his back, and he must have been killed, had not the bishop of Dumblain interceded in his favour, as being a Christian bishop. The archbishop, however, did not think himself safe till he reached Lithgow, to which place he travelled on foot from Edinburgh. This encounter, which was called Cleanse the Causeway, happened on the thirtieth of April. Buchanan says, that the earl of Angus had not with him above eighty attendants; that he must have been defeated had he not been seasonably reinforced by his brother, Sir William Douglas; and that the earl of Arran and his son made their escape by the North Loch, which was then a kind of marsh. Though the number of Angus's attendants are too much diminished by Buchanan, yet they certainly were far inferior to that of their enemies; for no fewer than eight hundred horse of the latter, in one body (besides those who had fled the night before) took the benefit of a proclamation emitted by Angus, that all, who were so inclined, might peaceably leave the town; but, at the same time, all the Hamilton party were prohibited to appear in the streets with arms. This skirmish, however inconsiderable in itself, was looked upon as decisive in favour of Angus, who acted with great moderation.

The

The heads of the earl of Hume and his brother were taken from the cross where they had been affixed, and solemnly buried in the Black Friars church; and the queen was indulged with as much of her son's company as she pleased: but, in order to give the reader a clear idea of the state of Scotland at this time, I must resume that of Europe.

The emperor Maximilian having died in 1519, his grandson, Charles of Austria, and Francis the first, declared themselves candidates to succeed him in the empire. Henry had some thoughts of declaring himself a third candidate, upon the pope's interest; but he soon discovered that the encouragement which had been promised him by the electors was only to betray him into spending large sums in the contest, and to no purpose. He therefore gave over all thoughts of that kind. He had, however, a considerable sway in Germany; and as it was by no means his interest that the imperial dignity should be transmitted to a king of France, he gave his interest to Charles, who was accordingly elected emperor. As Charles had great family-demands, on account of the Burgundy succession, as well as of his Italian dominions, the friendship of Henry became more necessary to him than ever; and he omitted nothing, either by presents or promises, that could secure him the interest of Wolsey. That ambitious statesman had hitherto been

Foreign
affairs.

A. D. 1520. his friend for private reasons ; but well knowing the influence of Charles to be far more prevalent at the papal court than that of Francis, he secretly resolved to favour the former, in hopes of obtaining, by his means, the triple crown ; but, in the mean time, he was caressed and pensioned by both parties, and each thought him his friend. In the present year, he held a private correspondence with Charles, while his master, at the same time, concluded a treaty with Francis, with whom he had an interview at Ardres ; where it was resolved to refer all the differences between the Scots and English to the king of France's mother and cardinal Wolsey.

The truce
with Eng-
land pro-
longed.

The truce with England was now expiring ; and in July this year, the lord Dacres wrote to archbishop Beaton, the chancellor of Scotland, for the names and designations of the embassadors who were to be sent from Scotland to prolong it. Beaton had no instructions, either from the regent or the earl of Arran and the council, to answer this letter ; because, had that nobleman prevailed over the earl of Angus, he intended to have broken with England ; but affairs taking another turn, the lords regents and council, on the sixteenth of November, wrote a letter to lord Dacres from Edinburgh, apologizing for their not having sent embassadors to England, on account of the multiplicity of their domestic affairs ; and de-

desiring him to procure sufficient powers to treat with the Scotch commissioners about prolonging the truce, either for a twelvemonth or a shorter term; and that they would, in the mean time, prepare another embassy to be sent to England, to make a truce that might be more lasting and perfect. Though the English warden was nettled at this doubtful proceeding on the part of the Scotch regency, yet he ventured to prolong the truce till the first of January, provided that, before that time, one of James's counsellors, escorted by the laird of Cessford, the Scotch warden, should bring him the names of the ambassadors intended for England. All this temporizing on the part of the Scots was occasioned by their not clearly understanding the state of affairs between Henry and Francis; and, indeed, I apprehend they did not think themselves authorized to proceed, without receiving instructions from France. One of my reasons for being of this opinion is, that Campbel, who was then designed lord-treasurer of Scotland, was ordered by the Scotch council to wait upon lord Dacres, to account for the indecision of their government. Campbel being retarded by the tempestuousness of the weather, two French ambassadors, Robert D'Aubigny and the seigneur De Planes, arrived, in the mean time, at Dunbar.

Upon their landing, they sent letters to lord Dacres, acquainting him that they were come

A negotiation.

A. D. 1520.

to facilitate the conclusion of the treaty between the two nations; and requesting him to intimate their arrival to his master. The answer returned by Dacres shews that great disorders had been committed by the subjects of both nations upon the borders, and that they lived together in little better than a state of war; for though Dacres hinted at those differences, yet he refused to acquaint his master with the arrival of the embassadors, till he should know upon what terms they came. The lord abbot of Kelso, and the archdeacon of Murray, were then ordered to treat with the English warden, the Scotch lord-treasurer being obliged to remain at court. The abbot of Kelso only attended; and lord Dacres soon after received the names and titles of the Scotch embassadors designed for the English court. The lord Dacres was astonished at seeing so many names in the list, and many of them persons of but indifferent rank; and gave his opinion that the Scotch council ought to name two bishops, two lords, and two secretaries (but that one of each rank was sufficient) to finish the negociation. De Planes sent a vague, undetermined, answer to this letter; but the lord-treasurer sent another, couched in artful terms. He apologized for the delay of the meeting of the Scotch parliament, on account of the plague; and for the low rank of some of the embassadors, because the lords of the

coun-

council, being uncertain upon what terms (whether those of peace or war) the two nations stood, they were unwilling to send any of their principal noblemen till preliminaries were settled. From the conclusion of his letter, the treasurer seems to have been no friend to the French negotiations. "My lord (says he) I trust Scotland rather desires a good way between them and your sovereign, in their own manner, than by any French way, notwithstanding the many French ambassadors, as he would afterwards inform him more at large."

Rymer,
vol. XIII.
P. 733.

This was a mean, shuffling, conduct in Francis, who began now to suspect the connections that were forming between Henry and the emperor. He had sent (under pretence of having the compromise concluded at Ardres confirmed by the states) his two ministers to Scotland; but they were secretly instructed to be as dilatory as possible, and conclude short, temporary, truces with England, till Francis could form some idea of Henry's true intention. The truce was accordingly prolonged from the first of January to the tenth of April 1521, by the lord Dacres on the part of England; and by Thomas abbot of Kelso, Andrew Ker of Cessford, and Adam Otterburn of Aldhames, on the part of Scotland. The lord Dacres, at the same time, granted a safe-conduct for the Scotch ambassadors, who were to set out before

Death of
the arch-
bishop of
St. An-
drew's.

1523.

A. D. 1521. fore the ninth of April. This embassy not taking place at the time appointed, the Scotch council, or rather the French party in it, made an apology for the failure, on account of the great distance at which their chief lords lived from Edinburgh, where the plague still continued, and the death of Forman archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was one of their principal governors. In this prelate Scotland lost one of the ablest statesmen of his age. Though he was by birth scarcely a gentleman, yet he ennobled all his preferments. Though a deep politician, he was candid and open in his manners, and of so generous a spirit, that he bestowed, in acts of hospitality, the large revenues of the two archbishoprics he possessed in France and Scotland.

Letter from
James to
Henry,

The apology offered by the Scots seems to have been accepted of by Henry, who consented to the prolongation of the truce. Some alteration happening in the affairs of Europe, rendered it necessary for Francis to temporize farther, till he could recover Navarre from the emperor. A letter was drawn up in the name of James, earnestly requesting Henry to prolong the truce; and informing him that his states, at the earnest sollicitation of the French king, were willing to agree to the following terms :

to whom
he offers
terms.

“ First, That there shall be not only a cessation of hostilities, but an amicable intercourse
of

of subjects, properly supplied with passports, A.D. 1521.
and of merchandize, as well by sea as by land,
from the twentieth of May to the feast of the
Purification of the Blessed Virgin; all infrac-
tions to be remedied by the kings, the wardens,
and commissaries, in the way formerly agreed
on by Henry the seventh and James the fourth.

“ Secondly, That queen Margaret, our dearest
mother, shall be treated as befits the dignity
of so great a queen; her dowry shall, for the
time coming, be fully paid her, without lett
or hindrance, she being permitted to appoint
such Scotsmen to receive as she pleases; and,
above all, she shall have full liberty to visit us,
as often, and in what manner she shall judge
most conducive to our mutual satisfaction.

“ Thirdly, No rebels, malefactors, or trai-
tors, to be harboured in the dominions of either;
and in case any such are there already, they
shall, upon demand, be delivered up to their
natural sovereign.

“ Fourthly, That the keeping our person
shall be left to the determination of the lords
of our council, and the states of our kingdom,
who shall provide proper persons for that pur-
pose, to be under their cognizance.

“ Fifthly, That before this truce shall expire,
we, with the advice and consent of parliament,
shall send an honourable embassy to our uncle
the king of England, without farther restraint
or delay.

“ All

A. D. 1521.

“All which articles we ratify; provided always that our dearest friend and tutor, the duke of Albany, be comprehended on our part in them, and enjoy their benefit, because he has been included in truces prior to these. Signed with the great seal, at Stirling, May the twentieth, 1521.”

Scotland a
province of
France.

Those terms were accepted of on the part of Henry; but it is a truth not to be dissembled, that Scotland at this time, as to its internal prosperity, depended entirely upon the will or caprice of Francis; and that the duke of Albany considered it as no other than a province of France. Francis soon found that Henry again inclined to the emperor; and that the English interest, or rather that of the earl of Angus, was daily gaining ground in Scotland. The greatest of the nobility, and the best patriots there, had sent the most earnest addresses both to Francis and the duke of Albany, importuning the latter to return to his regency, as their country was now full of confusion, bloodshed, and civil broils. It is possible that Francis would have turned a deaf ear to their complaints, had it not been for the increase of the English party in Scotland, and the necessity of his own affairs, which called for a diversion to the English arms. He therefore gave leave to the duke of Albany to return to Scotland, at a time when his army had been totally defeated in Castile, and when he himself was in danger

danger of being deserted by all his allies. From some of Wolsey's dispatches this year, we learn, that it was a common practice for the French to take English ships, and to carry them into Scotland to be condemned; but we know of no reparation made to the English on that account.

The duke of Albany landed in Scotland on the nineteenth of November, about the time when a secret confederacy was entered into between Henry and the emperor for attacking France with an hundred thousand men; and when the emperor engaged to assist Henry, if he should attempt to annex the crown of Scotland to that of England. The generous affection which Henry always expressed towards his nephew, leaves no room to doubt that this stipulation was entirely hatched by Wolsey; though, had James died without issue, it is more than probable that Henry would have attempted such an annexation. Upon the landing of the regent, he found the kingdom in great disorder. The earl of Angus and his followers domineered in the field; but the Hamilton faction, supported by the chancellor, Beaton, the other prelates, and a majority of the nobles, out-voted them in parliament. As to the queen-mother, she hated both parties almost equally; but she had a third husband already in her eye. Upon the arrival of the duke of Albany, she joined him, in hopes of

The regent
returns to
Scotland,

A. D. 1521.

his depriving both parties of their power, which was indeed the case; and she was with him when he made a kind of triumphal entry into Edinburgh, attended by the chancellor archbishop, the earl of Huntley, and a number of other noblemen. A parliament being summoned on the twenty-sixth of January, the regent's first proceedings left no room to doubt of his intending to take a severe revenge upon the earl of Angus and all his followers, for the disorders they had committed during his absence.

1522.
where a
parliament
meets.

That nobleman, his brother, the prior of Coldingham, Wedderburn, Dalhousy, Somerville, Cambuskenneth, Cockburn and Langton, and many others of his friends, were summoned, by the voice of the common crier, to appear as criminals before the three estates. I do not perceive that the bishop of Dunkeld received any such summons; a proof of the piety and innocence of his manners, and that he divided his time between religion and the muses. He apprehended, however, that the house of Angus was now doomed to destruction, and foresaw storms arising which must overset himself, or put him into a most disagreeable situation. He therefore, on pretence of going to Rome, retired to England. As to the earl of Angus, a process of divorce was then depending between him and the queen, in which he gave her so little opposition, that she

the interceded with the regent in his favour; and he and his brother, Sir George, were banished for a year to France; but his friends, whom I have above-mentioned, retired to England. Drummond mentions the earl of Angus and his brother being surpris'd in the night, and sent to France on board the ships of that nation; but the fate of their uncle, the good bishop of Dunkeld, was far more severe.

The see of St. Andrew's was, at this time, vacant; and the ambitious Beaton had marked it out for himself, but was afraid of being opposed by the bishop of Dunkeld, the most popular prelate of the kingdom, less on account of his high birth, than his genius and blameless life. His withdrawing to England gave Beaton a handle to accuse him of treason; and a proclamation was emitted, bearing, "That whereas Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, had treasonably entered and designed to reside in England, joining himself to the public enemy of the kingdom after war was denounced, and that not only without licence and permission, but against the express orders of the governor: Therefore they command the vicar-general of St. Andrew's (the see being vacant) to sequester the revenues of Dunkeld, and strictly forbid all persons to aid or assist him with money or counsel, or any wise to keep correspondence with him, under the highest pains." Even this barbarous proclamation did

Persecution
of bishop
Douglas.

A. D. 1522.

not terminate Beaton's spite; for it was resolved, "That the three estates write to the pope, not to assume or recommend him to the archbishopric, as being a person that had bad designs against the government, and was in the enemy's country and interest." About the same time, Beaton likewise wrote a letter to the king of Denmark, accusing bishop Douglas of being an enemy to his country, by aspiring to obtain the see of St. Andrew's thro' the interest of the emperor and the king of England. He then desires his Danish majesty to employ all his interest at the court of Rome to prevent the bishop's promotion. According to Drummond, the bishop complained to Henry of the regent's conduct, which tended to render the Scots slaves to the French; as was undoubtedly the case at this time. This worthy prelate died in April this year at London, of the plague, and lies buried in the Savoy church, where I believe his tomb is still to be seen.

His death.

Henry threatens the Scots,

The regent, who now acted only as viceroy to Francis, was ordered by that prince to apply to Henry for the farther prolongation of the truce, to which he was in hopes Wolsey would agree, as the see of Rome was then vacant; but that prelate was not longer to be imposed upon. Soon after the meeting of the Scotch parliament, Henry sent his letters-patent, under his privy-seal, to that assembly,

im-

importing, “ That he had hitherto been fa- A.D. 1522.
vourable to Scotland on account of his nephew’s tender age; but that being informed of the duke of Albany’s (a stranger of small reputation) arrival there, in exprefs breach of the French king’s promise, who pretended he knew nothing of his voyage; that he was making preparations for a war with England; that he was encouraging a divorce between his sister and her husband, in order to marry her himself, and make his way to the crown: he (Henry) had therefore refused to continue the truce; but that he was willing to live in peace with Scotland, if the duke was removed out of that kingdom. He added, that if the nobility should continue to protect and obey him, they should feel the weight of his resentment, and that of his allies.”

The states of the kingdom, on the eleventh of February, returned a polite, but firm, answer to Henry’s menaces. They cleared the regent of all the aspersions thrown out against him; they informed Henry that he did not so much as interfere in naming the tutors or domestics about the king’s person, but left them to the appointment of the states. As to the matter of the divorce, they observed, that it was extremely improbable that the duke of Albany, whose virtuous and noble conduct in life had been always answerable to his high rank and lineage, should abandon his own wife,
who

who despise
his me-
naces.

A. D. 1522. who was still living, and had brought him a great fortune. “And in good faith (said they) we firmly believe that neither the queen’s grace or he ever entertained any such notions.” They then vindicate the whole of the regent’s administration, enlarging upon his pacific dispositions, and his fidelity towards the king; and covertly reproach Henry for the support and shelter he had given to the Scotch exiles, who were roving about in armed bands, plundering their own countrymen. They added, “They were very sorry to find, that whatever good offices either the governor or they did to the king was taken in evil part; but that firm belief was yielded to every sinister report of every Scots fugitive to their disadvantage. While such was his conduct, no firm peace could ever obtain; but, as they were sincere in applying for a peace, they entreated his majesty no longer to protect the bishop of Dunkeld, and the other rebels of their sovereign, but to be content to prolong the truce till they could send a proper embassy for establishing a lasting peace. And, lastly, as to his desire of removing the governor, and menaces, in case of non-compliance; they informed him, that, rather than consent to do so material a wrong to their king and country, so manifest a dishonour to themselves, and so apparent an injury to their lord-governor, by expelling him the realm, by which they would again be plunged

plunged into daily domestic divisions, they will, under his auspices, take their chance of peace and war, as God shall please to send them. That from this their ultimate resolution, neither his majesty, nor any other Christian potentate, should make them swerve; and in case his majesty should attack them, they must trust in God, and do as their ancestors have often done before them. Signed at Edinburgh by his majesty's humble orators and servants, with all faithful service, the chancellor and three estates of the realm of Scotland." A. D. 1522.

It cannot be denied that the Scotch parliament shewed great spirit, at this time, in asserting their independency, and doing justice to the virtues of the regent. I cannot, however, help thinking that Henry's conduct was very justifiable. James, next to his own family, was the nearest relation Henry had; and it was evident that the regent had resumed his troublesome post only to be subservient to the designs of France. This was a most disagreeable situation for the nobility; and yet I cannot see how they could have acted otherwise than they did. The best and wisest among them, while they resolved to support the regent, intimated that he was not to expect to render them the tools of France, or that they would act offensively against Henry. That prince little expected so determined an opposition to his will; and though he charged Clarendieux

*Intrigues of
the English
in Scotland.*

A. D. 1522. rencieux to denounce war if it was not complied with, yet he seems to have sent him counter-orders. Henry, at the time he dispatched the above letter to the Scotch parliament, sent one to his sister, the queen of Scotland; and she returned a very animated answer, the original of which lord Herbert, in his Life of Henry the Eighth, says he had seen. Henry had upbraided her with having joined the duke of Albany against the English interest there; and she excused herself on account of Henry's unkindness in obliging her to have recourse to that duke's assistance: she likewise upbraided Henry for the slight opinion he entertained of her conduct. The truth is, Henry seems to have been very ill served with intelligence from Scotland; for nothing could be more distant from the queen's and the regent's intentions than an intermarriage; and yet, had not Henry firmly believed the report to be true, it is not to be imagined he would have asserted the fact in the public letter he wrote to the Scotch parliament.

Prepara-
tions for
a war,

The steadiness of that body had disconcerted him; but he ordered lord Dacres to proclaim upon the borders, that the Scots must stand to their peril, if they did not agree to his terms by the first of March. This threat producing no effect, he seized the goods of all the Scots residing in England, and banished them his dominions, after marking them (according to

A. D. 1522

to bishop Lesley) with a cross, to distinguish them from his other subjects. This was an impolitic, and indeed an unjust, proceeding in Henry, who did not pretend to have any other ground or quarrel with the Scots, than that their regent was too much in the French interest. The parliament met on the twenty-second of July at Edinburgh; and it was resolved that an army should be raised for the defence of the kingdom. It was at the same time ordained, "That if any were slain by their ancient enemies of England, or Scotch traitors, in pursuit or defence in the war, moved (as the record expresses it) or to be moved between the two realms, their heirs, of whatever age they were, should have free their wards, relief and marriage, of the king's grace and the lord-governor, to be applied for the benefit of their wives and children." The like immunity was extended to the heirs and wives of all who held their estates of the nobility and the great landholders; even the children and wives of the tenants who should fall in battle were not to be turned out of their farms for five years after. Drummond calls those provisions "an empiric French balm."

About this time, a new embassy arrived in Scotland from France; and the emperor, in a visit he paid to England, took the sacrament along with Henry to the observation of the

which is
com-
menced.

A. D. 1522.

treaties between them. Among other reasons given by Henry for declaring war against Francis, was the latter having broken his word, by suffering the duke of Albany to return to Scotland. He then ordered his admiral, Sir William Fitz-Williams, to sail with a squadron to the Forth; but he found all the coasts on both sides so well provided for defence, that he returned without doing them much, if any, damage. On the thirtieth of April, the earl of Shrewsbury, Henry's steward of the household, and knight of the garter, was appointed commander in chief of the army that was to act against the Scots, with a commission dated the fourteenth of August, to summon "all the inhabitants of the counties of Shrewsbury, Nottingham, Stafford, Derby, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Cheshire, from sixteen to sixty, of whatever condition, who were ordered by royal proclamation to be ready, at an hour's warning, to attend the lieutenant-general against his ancient enemies the Scots, who, at the instigation of his notorious and cruel enemy, the French king, he was certainly informed, intended to invade, in the beginning of September, or sooner, his realm of England, and not only to burn and consume whatever they could conquer, but to spoil and murder his subjects of the North, and on the marches." Lord Dacres,

Rymer's
Fœd. tom.
XIII.
p. 732.

cres, in the mean time, made an inroad into Scotland as far as Kelso, part of which he burnt, and part he plundered. A. D. 1522.

The Scots could no longer remain inactive; and the regent ordered his army to rendezvous at Roslin near Edinburgh. He suspected what afterwards happened, and kept his intentions secret as long as he could. A proclamation was at last made in the camp, that the army was to march towards Anandale; and it accordingly passed the Esk, and encamped before Carlisle. The lord Gordon, who led the following of that powerful family, discovered a visible reluctance to this march, and loitered three miles behind the rest of the troops; and it was with some difficulty that the regent in person brought him up to the camp, where a council of war was held, in which the regent warmly insisted upon penetrating into England, and undertaking the siege of Carlisle, the inhabitants of which city offered him money, if they could be indemnified from hostilities; but it was rejected. The members of the council of war, which consisted chiefly of the great nobility, declared their resolution not to provoke the English by invading their country; a delicacy which I think was ridiculous, as the lord Dacres was then ravaging Scotland. The truth is, they had not forgotten the fatal field of Floddon. They knew that the earl of Shrewsbury was advancing against

The Scotch
army re-
fuses to
invade
England.

A.D. 1522. them at the head of a great army; and they told the regent to his face, that they were resolved not to fight in a French quarrel, but that they would defend themselves if attacked. The regent represented, on his part, the excellent condition of the army and his artillery, which was directed by the best of the French engineers. He put them in mind that Dacres had already begun the war; he reproached them for not having mentioned their objections before the army marched; and laid their defeat at Floddon entirely upon the late lord chamberlain, Hume, who had been punished for his treachery. The members continued obstinate and deaf to all his arguments, being headed by Gordon, who was looked upon as the second man in the army. The queen-mother stepped in to save him from the mortification of being left alone by his troops. She proposed a conference between the lord Dacres and the regent. The former was afraid of having his retreat to England cut off, and the latter knew that his army would not obey him; so that the conference was readily agreed to on both sides. The queen-dowager herself introduced Dacres to the Scotch camp; and a cessation of arms was agreed to, till a messenger, dispatched to know Henry's pleasure as to renewing the truce, could return. Henry, who knew of the danger in which lord Dacres's army was, was not at all averse to the renewal
of

of the truce for any time the Scots should require; and embassadors were actually sent from Scotland to the English court for that purpose. A. D. 1522.

It was now generally thought that the tranquillity of Scotland would be restored, but the regent had instructed the embassadors to agree to no treaty in which the French should not be comprehended; upon which, an end was put to the negociation, though Henry, for his own conveniency, consented to prolong the truce for some weeks. This expedition made the regent sensible that he was become disagreeable to the Scots, not on his own account, but because of his French connections; for it is acknowledged on all hands, that he had great abilities for government. He was, however, driven from his usual moderation by the disrespectful treatment he thought he had received; and told those he could trust, that he was resolved to return to France, and bring back such a force, both by sea and land, as should render it unnecessary for him to ask leave of the Scots for invading England. He accordingly embarked for France on the twenty-fifth of October; but publicly gave out that he would return the ensuing August. Upon his leaving the kingdom, it fell into all the confusion and disorder in which he found it at his last arrival from France.

The regent becomes unpopular.

Returns to France.

Upon the expiration of the truce, the earl of Surry was appointed commander in chief

of

1523.
The English endeavour to intercept him.

A.D. 1523. of the fleet and army destined to act against the Scots, with all the powers of his predecessor, the earl of Shrewsbury, particularly that of conferring the honour of knighthood upon those who should deserve it. It was about the time of the duke of Albany's leaving Scotland that the discontents of the duke of Bourbon, constable of France, and the greatest subject in that kingdom, broke out, which brought the French monarchy to the brink of ruin. The duke of Albany demanded from Francis ten thousand foot and five thousand horse, for carrying on the war against England; but the situation of Francis did not permit him to spare so many troops at that time, though he was daily sending over ships with men, arms, ammunition, and money, to reinforce the French garrisons in Scotland; and at last it was publicly known in England, that the regent duke was about to return to that kingdom with a strong fleet, and about four thousand of the best troops in France. Henry had then just finished his grand alliance, in which the constable of Bourbon was comprehended as a party. Sir William Fitz-Williams was ordered by Henry to watch the motions of the duke of Albany, and to block up the squadron, which was to carry him to Scotland, in the harbour of Finhead. Henry, at the same time, was so uneasy with the thoughts of the duke's return to Scotland, that he ordered his ministers,

sters, Sir Thomas Bullen and Dr. Sampson, A. D. 1523.
 to apologize to his new allies for his not being
 in a condition to send his troops so early into
 the field that year as he intended. Wolsey, the
 English minister, in a letter (a copy of which
 is come to our hands) had so great a depen-
 dence upon the squadron under Fitz-Williams,
 which consisted of thirty-six large ships, that
 he imagined the Scots, finding themselves dis-
 appointed in the regent's return, would chuse
 another regent, settle an English administra-
 tion, and, concludes he, " sue to the king's
 (Henry's) grace for peace."

Besides the squadron under Fitz-Williams,
 Sir Anthony Poyntz cruized with another in
 the western seas; as Sir Christopher Dow and
 Sir Henry Shireburn did in the northern with
 a third squadron. The duke of Albany durst
 not face Fitz-Williams, but found means to set
 out from another port, with the archbishop of
 Glasgow, and some troops, in twelve ships.
 They fell in with Fitz-Williams's squadron;
 two of their ships were sunk, and the rest
 driven back to Dieppe in Boulogne. Fitz-
 Williams then made a descent at Treport, where
 he burnt eighteen French ships, and returned
 to his station off Finhead. By this time, the
 French had reinforced the duke of Albany with
 so many ships, as rendered him a match, in
 point of strength, with Fitz-Williams's squa-
 dron. One of Wolsey's letters informs us,
 that

He outwits
 them, and
 lands in
 Scotland.

A. D. 1523.

that Fitz-Williams braved the duke, and offered to fight him with any equal number of ships he pleased. The duke, though unquestionably brave, had no confidence in French shipping, when opposed to that of the English. He was so far from returning an answer to the challenge, that he ordered his troops to be put on shore, as if he had given over all thoughts of his expedition for that year. A storm arising, Fitz-Williams was obliged to return to the Downs; and the regent, taking that opportunity, re-imbarked his men, and sailing by the western coasts, landed in Scotland.

This was a great disappointment to the English government, as well as Henry's allies on the continent; for the regent had brought with him not only the four thousand regular troops I have mentioned, but a large supply of money, arms, and ammunition, in fifty ships. The earl of Surry was, at this time, carrying on as cruel a war against Scotland as any mentioned upon record, in the most barbarous ages; and, that I may not seem to exaggerate, I shall lay before my reader the words of Wolsey, who is an unexceptionable authority. "If this said duke (meaning the duke of Albany) should, or might arrive, the said earl of Surry is in perfect readiness to encounter with him; and hath, what with the roads before the departure of Sir Richard Jerningham, and since, so devasted and destroyed all Tweeddale and March,
that

that there is left neither house, fortrefs, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other succour for man; infomuch that some of the people that fled from the fame, afterwards returning, and finding no fufenance, were compelled to come into England, begging bread, which oftentimes when they do eat, they die incontinently for the hunger paff; and with no imprifonment, cutting off their ears, burning in the faces, or otherwife, can be kept away. Such is the punifhment of Almighty God to thofe that be difturbers of good peace, reft and quiet in Chriftendom!"

A. D. 1523.

When the Englifh court, on the twenty-feventh of September, received intelligence from the earl of Surry, that the duke of Albany and his troops were landed in Scotland, Wolfey fent immediate orders for fortifying the caftles of Norham and Wark. The ufe of artillery was then well known both in England and Scotland; and mufkets had been introduced into armies about three years before. This created a great alteration with regard to the ftrength of fortifications; and the earl of Surry, in his difpatches to the Englifh court, fpeaks of Berwic, which was formerly deemed next to impregnable, as a flight frontier in comparifon of Wark. Thofe fortifications being completed, the earl invaded Scotland before the regent could take the field, and burnt Jedburgh. The Scotch hiftorians are, at

The war
with Eng-
land re-
newed.

A. D. 1523.

this time, unpardonably defective; and we know little more of this invasion than what we learn from the earl of Surry's dispatches to his court. From them it appears, that the earl was opposed by a body of two thousand Scots, who acquitted themselves so gallantly, as to draw from the earl, who was a great judge of military merit, the following expressions in one of his dispatches to cardinal Wolsey: "That the Scots were men of the greatest bravery and ardour he had ever seen in any nation." In this expedition, the lord Dacres commanded the English cavalry, consisting of four thousand; and their historians have told us, that the flames of Jedburgh startled the horses so much, that they broke loose upon the infantry, who were obliged to fire upon them, and killed eight hundred. Though lord Dacres, in his letter on this occasion, ascribes this disorder to a supernatural appearance which presented itself before the horses, yet it is far more rational to believe that his camp, which was distant from that of the earl of Surry, was surprised by the Scots; and the rather, as the lord Dacres is characterised by the earl himself as being a hardy and good knight, but somewhat unwary.

The Scots
again in-
vade Eng-
land,

The intestine divisions of Scotland prevented the duke of Albany from taking the field to repel those invasions. His long, though necessary, absence had weakened his party; and the

the queen-mother had been very successful in strengthening the English interest. The authority of the duke, however, was undisputed; and upon his arrival in Scotland, he summoned a parliament, where the English party made a great appearance in the debate, whether they should enter upon a war, or conclude a peace, with England? Happy had it been for the Scots, had they, at this time, listened to the voice of equity and moderation; for on their resolves the fate of Europe, at that time, depended, because they were to determine the part which Henry was to act upon the continent. The brightest part of that prince's character, perhaps, is his noble behaviour, on all occasions, to his nephew. He was so well disposed to cultivate a friendship with Scotland, that he offered James his eldest daughter, the princess Mary, in marriage. It was little less than madness in the Scots to reject this measure, as James, after the issue of Henry's body, was undoubted heir to the crown of England; and Henry insisted upon no terms that tended to create a breach between France and Scotland. The evil genius of the Scots prevailed, by their rejecting all pacific terms. Animated by the appearance of their French auxiliaries, or corrupted by French gold, they raised an army, with a full resolution to invade England, and appointed its rendezvous to be in Douglassdale.

A. D. 1523.

A. D. 1523.

but to no
purpose.

It must be acknowledged that the juncture presented a flattering opportunity for the invasion. The earl of Surry, as appears from his dispatches to cardinal Wolsey, still extant, did not think himself strong enough to act on the offensive, but lay at Newcastle, in hopes of the Scots advancing so far into England, that they could not retreat without fighting upon disadvantageous terms, which had too often been the case. Add to this, that the English army cost their government immense sums in keeping it together. Wolsey, in the dispatches he returned to the earl of Surry's letters, discovers great apprehensions of the duke of Albany's retaining the regency; and orders Surry, unless he was dismissed from it, to agree to no truce with the Scots. In other letters he is of opinion (from the intelligence, no doubt, sent him by the queen-mother) that if a truce should be granted, the regent would make use of it in sending the young king to be educated in France, and marry him to a French lady. It is more than probable that this was the regent's intention (so entirely devoted was he to the French interest) had he not been prevented by the English party, which daily gathered strength under the queen-regent. She was rather assisted than weakened by the earl of Arran, who continued to have great influence; and though he professed a neutrality, he thought that the public councils were too
much

much under the direction of the French regent. A. D. 1523.
 In short, the parties in parliament, when the regent entered England, were almost balanced; and Henry was still in hopes of rescuing his nephew out of the duke of Albany's hands, without distressing the subjects of either kingdom by a war. There was the greater merit in this moderation, as the earl of Surry was then at the head of forty thousand men. The chief officers under him were, the marquis of Dorset, who commanded in Berwic (the garri- son of which amounted to six thousand) the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, Lumley, Ogle, and Darcy, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Francis Brian, and Sir Edward Benton. Henry and his council, notwithstanding this fine army, repeated their orders to the earl of Surry to remain on the defensive, lest he should unite the Scots by invading their country.

The regent duke having taken the field, advanced to a place on the borders, where a wooden bridge, over the Tweed, joins Scotland to England. There he found great part of his army under the same difficulties they had formerly harboured; for they flatly refused to enter England. It was in vain for the regent to exert all his eloquence in extolling the obligations which Scotland was under to France, and the glorious opportunity the Scots now had of being revenged upon the English. He
 was

The regent
 unsuccessful,

A.D. 1523.

was answered, that the Scots had often bought the friendship of France too dearly; that the king of England was their king's natural ally; that he had given them no provocation; and that by commencing hostilities they must fight in a French quarrel. Some part of the army accordingly returned home; but the regent prevailed with the rest to pass the Tweed, and detached Kerr of Farniherst, at the head of the French, to besiege the strong castle of Wark, which was defended by Sir William Lisle. According to bishop Lesley, the regent challenged the earl of Surry, who was encamped near Alnwick, to a battle; which the earl, pursuant to his orders, declined. Mean time, the siege of Wark went on with so great vigour, that Kerr actually had mastered some of the out-works. A motion made by the earl of Surry to relieve the place, and the vigorous defence of the garrison under Lisle, obliged Kerr to abandon his enterprize. Lisle set fire to some green wood, litter, and straw; and, under the smoke it raised, attacked the French, killed three hundred of them, and drove them from the out-works they had gained. This discouraged the troops under the regent (who found himself obliged to return with his army to Scotland) and facilitated the measures pursued by the queen-mother, in which she was strongly supported by cardinal Wolsey.

and returns
to Scotland.

Four factions, at this time, divided Scotland: that of France, headed by the regent; that of the queen-mother, which consisted of true hearted Scotsmen, who wished their country to be equally independent upon France as England; that of the earl of Arran, which was composed chiefly of his own friends and relations, who thought him better entitled than the duke of Albany was to the regency, but inclined rather to the English than the French interest, and were in general desirous of moderate measures. The last party was that of England, headed by the earl of Angus, who lived as an exile under Henry's protection. Had not he and the queen-mother been irreconcilable, or rather had she not conceived an invincible aversion to his person, the affairs of Scotland would have returned to their true and natural channel; but all the art of Wolsey could not effect a reconciliation between them. Henry's great point continued to be the removal of the duke of Albany from the government, without being solicitous as to his successor. He found it more easy, and less expensive, to compass his ends by supporting his sister, who had now brought the earls of Arran and Lenox entirely into her views, more by money than by arms. He therefore sent her very considerable sums to distribute, as she thought proper, among the Scotch nobility. This had so good an effect in her favour, that
the

A. D. 1523.
Four fac-
tions in
Scotland.

A. D. 1523. the duke of Albany could no longer preserve his footing. An Englishman, who is called Magnus, was appointed by Wolsey to carry the money to the queen-dowager, and to reside about her person, but under the direction of the earl of Surry, who, by his father's death, was now duke of Norfolk. The regent could no longer resist entering into a treaty, as his adversaries, and even the moderate part of his own friends, proposed that the king, who was now about twelve years of age, should take the government into his own hands. Henry being informed of this proposal, granted a truce to the Scots for a twelvemonth.

Views of
cardinal
Wolsey.

While all matters were thus on the point of accommodation, and while the queen had an influence superior to that of the regent, fresh difficulties occurred, which threatened to break off the negociation. Cardinal Wolsey insisted upon the earl of Angus, who was still in England, being restored to his estate and honours in Scotland, and of having the chief management of affairs there; but in this he was strenuously opposed by the queen and the earl of Arran. The latter, from motives easily to be accounted for, disliked the earl's return to power, and pretended that he would be as much devoted to Henry as the duke of Albany was to Francis. Cardinal Wolsey, on the other hand, not only persisted in the earl's return to Scotland, but instructed the duke of Norfolk, who

who was still in the northern parts, to insist upon the Scots sending ambassadors to England to solicit a definitive treaty, “because (says he in one of his letters) the peace of Scotland hath been always required by ambassadors of that nation, sent to the kings of England, and not been concluded upon the borders.” In another of his dispatches, Wolsey lays down a new scheme of government for Scotland; and proposes to punish the chancellor archbishop of St. Andrew’s, and the other heads of the French party, and to form a guard of two hundred men for the safety and grandeur of the young king. The queen-mother disliked no part of the cardinal’s scheme, but the return of her husband to Scotland. In this she was seconded by the earl of Arran; but the haughty cardinal, brooking no opposition to his will, ordered the duke of Norfolk to send the earl of Angus, at all events, to Scotland, and to support him there with troops, if necessary. The queen-dowager and her party came to the knowledge of the duke of Norfolk’s instructions, and resolved to address Henry in person. They accordingly, in a very respectful manner, informed him, that no accommodation with Scotland could ever take place, if the earl of Angus was suffered to return to that kingdom. This remonstrance was sent to Henry towards the latter end of the year, when the duke of Norfolk had dismissed his army; and a severe winter

A. D. 1523. ter succeeding, no hostilities were committed on either side till the spring of the year following.

1524.
The duke
of Albany
resigns the
regency.

Drummond.

The duke of Albany behaved with astonishing equanimity amidst those party-combustions. His own good sense told him that all factions were united against him and his friends in the Scotch parliament; but he still continued to act with dignity; and in the beginning of this year he called an assembly of the nobility, to inform them, that he intended to return to France. He, at the same time, asked them pardon for all the errors of government he might have committed, which he protested were of ignorance, and not of malice. It may be easily supposed that his request met with no opposition; and he paid a visit, for some days, to the king, to whom he gave such instructions as were suited to his capacity (for he was then but thirteen years of age) about the affairs of government. On the fourteenth of May, he went on board one of his ships for France, from whence he never returned to Scotland. He was too good a Frenchman when he left the kingdom, to make a formal abdication of his government. Far from that, he requested the nobility, whom he convened for that purpose, to enter into no alliance with England during his absence (which he said would continue no longer than the first of September following) to make no alteration in the government,

and

and to keep the king at Stirling. The nobles, A. D. 1524.
 who wished him to be gone, made no objection
 to those terms. In fact, it was not in their
 power to comply with them, as it had been
 previously determined that the king should take
 the reins of government into his own hands.
 The duke of Albany was a prince formed
 for the most arduous affairs, both of war and
 peace. He had a most sincere affection for the
 king's person, which was not shaken by any
 occurrences, though he was himself declared
 to be next in succession. His administration
 was irreproachable in matters of justice and
 equity, nor did his greatest enemies pretend to
 fix the least stain upon his moral character;
 but, after all, his attachment and partiality for
 France rendered him a very improper regent
 of Scotland; and had he continued longer in
 office, his unpopularity would probably have
 increased to such a degree, as must have been
 dangerous to the independency of the king-
 dom.

Character
of his re-
gency.

According to Buchanan, no sooner was the
 regent's return to France known, than the
 public of Scotland relapsed into all the miseries
 of anarchy. The queen dowager had the ma-
 nagement of public affairs, but her power was
 limited. The earl of Arran very properly
 thought, that as the great point of Albany's
 dismissal of the government had been effected,
 the Scots ought to secure themselves against

James takes
the reins of
government
into his
own hands,

A. D. 1524.

the English ; and, in that respect, he fell in with the views of the French party. The queen-mother's dislike of her husband daily encreasing, prevented any coalition of the English interest ; and Wolsey seized that opportunity for restoring the earl of Angus to all his importance in Scotland. The queen-mother therefore had nothing left to maintain herself in power, but to bring James himself, young as he was, into action. This was the more necessary, on account of the murders that were daily committed. In the North, the eldest son of the lord Forbes slew the laird of Meldrum, whom he had appointed to meet him at a certain place. In the South, the laird of Drumelzier killed the lord Fleming at a hunting-match ; and the families of Kilmaurs and Semple filled the western parts of the kingdom with slaughter. As to the king himself, he listened with great avidity to those who advised him to take the government into his own hands ; and it was owing chiefly to his premature deliverance from pupilage, that the nation fell into the misfortunes that afterwards happened. He discovered a genius far beyond his years ; and, before he would agree to enter upon the exercise of royalty, he insisted upon his nominating a new sett of servants, from his treasurer down to his porter and his fool, (a necessary implement of majesty in those days) whose name was John Mackilrie. He then appointed

appointed a cabinet council, who consisted of the earls of Angus, Argyle, and Lenox, with the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who were to give him their advice in all the important affairs of state; but in reality they were no other than substitutes to the queen-mother. A. D. 1524.

On the twenty-ninth of July, the king removed from Stirling to the abbey of Holyrood-house, where he took upon himself the exercise of government, by convoking the nobility, and obliging them to swear a second oath of allegiance to his person. The queen then removed the provost of Edinburgh, whom she suspected to be her enemy, from the government of that town; and by her advice the king took up his residence in the castle, the lord Maxwell being nominated provost of Edinburgh, in the room of him who lay under the queen's displeasure. This step was extremely agreeable to Henry, who, on the eleventh of August, prolonged the truce, and sent Magnus, with Roger Ratcliff, Esq; to attend the Scotch parliament, which met on the twentieth of the same month. The queen-mother's party now directed all public deliberations. Beaton archbishop of St. Andrew's and the bishop of Aberdeen were the only members who spoke or voted in the French interest. A motion being made for vacating the powers of the regency, they opposed it, and strenuously insisted upon postponing the vacation till the first

and re-
moves to
Holyrood-
house.

A. D. 1524. of September, which was the time the regent had fixed for his return. They were not only over-ruled, but were committed to prison, though I cannot see upon what justifiable pretence. They were soon after set at liberty, and replaced in all their posts and dignities. This conduct was the more extraordinary, as the earl of Caills, Sir William Scot of Balwiery, and Adam Otterburn of Auldhame, had prolonged the truce with England from the fourth of September to the second of December, at the special pursuit and request (as the record says) of that excellent princess queen Margaret. One of the articles of this truce was, that if the duke of Albany, before its expiration, should return to Scotland, and resume the regency, the truce was to be no longer binding. By another article of this treaty of truce, the king of Scotland was engaged to send an honourable embassy to England, to treat of a perpetual peace with Henry; and all differences upon the borders were to be terminated by the wardens, according to the form mentioned in the treaty concluded between James the fourth and Henry the seventh.

A treaty of
truce.

The earl of
Angus
enters
Scotland,

In the intermediate time, upon the very day the last truce was signed between the English warden and the Scotch commissioners, the earl of Angus entered Scotland. He had been invited from his exile in France to England, where he was carested by Henry, who disre-
garded

garded all his sister the queen-dowager's earnest applications to send him back to France, and resolved to support him in Scotland. There was, however, somewhat noble in Henry's behaviour on this occasion. Though his declared intention in sending the earl to Scotland, was, that the latter might balance the French party there; yet he enjoined him to sue, in the most humble manner, for a reconciliation with the queen his wife, and to co-operate with the earl of Arran (who acted now as first minister to her and James) as long as he should oppose the French party in the council. Upon the earl's return, without the consent of the queen-mother or the earl of Arran, he found himself excluded from all concern in the government; but he soon became of importance. The earl of Arran had many enemies, chiefly on account of the preference that had been given him by the queen; and with those Angus connected himself. The chief of them were the earls of Lenox, Argyle, and Hume. The last nobleman was brother to the lord chamberlain, who had been beheaded by the regent duke, as already mentioned; and we are told by historians, that he was, about this time, replaced in his estate, which had been forfeited. This is a very questionable fact, as neither the lord chamberlain nor his brother had left any issue; so that I suppose the estate had only been detained for some time in the regent's

A. D. 1524.

and formed
a party.

A. D. 1524. gent's hands, on pretence of a charge against the surviving brother.

A new
treaty with
England.

The earl of Angus, having thus laid the foundation of an opposition, daily acquired strength. He knew that Henry believed the earl of Arran to be, in his heart, inclined to the French interest; and that Henry thought himself the only Scotchman he could rely on. The queen-mother was at great pains to fix her brother in a contrary opinion; and while the parliament was sitting, on the eighteenth of November, Robert bishop of Dunkeld, the earl of Cassils, and the abbot of Cambuskenneth, were commissioned to go as ambassadors to the court of England, to treat of a perpetual peace, and of a match between their young king and Henry's daughter. This match had been proposed by Henry himself; and the emperor Charles had endeavoured to out-bid him, by offering James a princess of his own family, with an immense treasure. The ambassadors arrived at London on the nineteenth of December, and found Henry sincerely disposed both to the peace and the match. He appointed commissioners to treat of both; but instructed them to demand, by way of preliminaries, that the Scots should absolutely renounce their league with France, and that James should be sent for education to England, till he should be of age for consummating the marriage. The Scotch commissioners declared they had no instructions

structions on those points, but the earl of Castile offered to return to Scotland, and bring a definitive answer from the three estates; and, in the mean time, the truce was prolonged to the twenty-third of March 1525, and from thence to the fifteenth of May. A.D. 1524.
1525.

The news of the battle of Pavia, in which the French king was taken prisoner, arriving at this time, gave a new and sudden turn to the affairs of Europe. Affairs of Europe. Wolsey had been often deceived by the emperor, and found himself as far distant, as ever, from the triple crown. On pretence that the power of Charles was now dangerous to the liberties of Europe, he persuaded Henry to enter into a secret correspondence with Louisa, whom her son Francis had appointed regent of his dominions; and at last a treaty was actually concluded for his deliverance. This treaty would have had no effect, had the emperor agreed to Henry's proposal of having all the French provinces, which had belonged to his predecessors, re-annexed to the crown of England. Charles not only rejected that demand, but required from Henry a discharge of his obligation to marry the princess of England. This requisition was very agreeable to Henry; and the discharge was actually sent to Lee, his ambassador at the imperial court, but with orders not to deliver it, unless Charles should agree to pay the penalty in which he was bound if he should not

A.D. 1525. marry the princess. The emperor understanding that the negociation for the marriage of James with the princess Mary (who in the record is stiled daughter and heir apparent to Henry) would probably take place, and that he must either break with England, or pay the penalty annexed to the non-performance of his marriage, ordered De Praet, his embassador at the court of London, to demand that the princess should be put into his hands. This happened about the time when the earl of Cassils was preparing to set out for Scotland; but though the demand had an alarming appearance, the match between James and the princess Mary would have still taken place, had not other causes intervened. Henry was so much in earnest to have it completed, that he even waved the claim of the penalty, and sent instructions to Lee for that purpose, ordering him to give up the "discharge (to make use of the words of the instruction) of the emperor's obligation to marry his daughter, the princess Mary, whom though his grace could have found in his heart to have bestowed upon the emperor before any prince living, yet, for the more security of his succession, the furtherance of his other affairs, and to do unto him a gratuity, his grace hath liberally, benevolently, and kindly consented unto it."

Great
power of
the earl of
Angus in
Scotland.

The earl of Cassils laid before the three estates at Edinburgh the difficulties concerning the marriage

marriage of James with the princess Mary, and found the earl of Angus the leading man in parliament. By his influence it was determined that the Scots should renounce their league with France, and substitute, in place of it, a like league with England; and that their king should be brought up at the English court, till he was of an age proper for marriage. They required, at the same time, that Henry should free himself from all engagements with the emperor. Henry, whose politics were constantly veering, according to the caprice or ambition of Wolsey, returned but a cold answer to this demand. He said, that he would acquaint the emperor with what they desired, and determine accordingly. The true reason of Henry's, or rather the cardinal's, indecision, was the perplexed state of affairs upon the continent, which did not suffer them to come to an immediate breach with the emperor. Before the earl of Cassils returned to Scotland, a truce for two years and a half was concluded with England.

Though the queen-mother had always been a warm advocate for a strict alliance between England and Scotland, yet she disliked the means of bringing it about. She saw her husband's interest acquiring strength every day; and that he had brought over to his party the archbishop of St. Andrew's, who (according to Buchanan) durst not oppose him. The queen

He is opposed by his wife, the queen-dowager.

A. D. 1525.

and the earl of Arran thought that their chief safety now lay in being possessed of the king's person, and the castle of Edinburgh. They found it necessary to hold a parliament; but the strong affection which the citizens of Edinburgh bore towards Angus, prevailed on the queen and Arran to issue the summons for the meeting to be within the castle, instead of the town, of Edinburgh. This was a weak and unconstitutional measure, and gave a great handle to the earl of Angus and his party, who exclaimed against the innovation. They excepted against meeting within a fortress in the power of the opposite faction, and where it would be dangerous to dispute their pleasure. They insisted upon the parliament being held in the town as usual, and that the young king should shew himself on horseback in passing to it from the place of his residence. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, with the bishops of Aberdeen and Dumblane, joined the earls of Angus, Lenox, and Argyle, who had now formed themselves into a triumvirate against the queen, in those remonstrances; but finding them ineffectual, they formed a blockade of the castle, with two thousand men, and threw up trenches round it, which cut off all its communication with the town. Every thing then tended towards civil war. The triumvirate had stopped all provisions and necessaries from being sent into the castle, but such as were absolutely

The castle
of Edin-
burgh
blockaded.

folutely neceffary for the king's perfon, under A. D. 1525.
pretence that he was detained prifoner by a lawlefs faction, without the confent of the ftates, by which they had incurred the penalties of treason; and that they had fhut up all the avenues of juftice to the fubjects. The queen was weak enough to turn the cannon of the caftle againft the town; and fome fhots were actually fired, to force the inhabitants to break through the blockade and fupply the caftle.

In this difmal ftate of affairs, fome eccle-
fiaftics interpoled, and matters were compro-
mifed, but in fo imperfect a manner, that a
future breach feemed almoft unavoidable. It
was agreed, that the king fhould remove out
of the caftle to the palace of Holyrood-houfe,
from whence he fhould repair, in pomp and
fplendor, to his parliament, in the houfe where
it was commonly held, where a finifhing hand
was to be put to all differences. This agree-
ment was figned on the twenty-fifth of Fe-
bruary 1526. The parliament accordingly met,
and the king's marriage with the princefs of
England was confirmed; but, if a true account
of the proceedings of the afsembly has come to
our hands, no mention was made of the king's
being fent for his education into England. In-
ftead of that, the care of his perfon was com-
mitted to eight lords of parliament; who were,
the archbifhops of St. Andrew's and Glasgou,
the bifhops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, the
earls

The king
removes
from it.

1526.

A. D. 1526.

New model
of govern-
ment,

earls of Angus, Arran, Lenox, and Argyle.

Those prelates and noblemen, according to Drummond, were to have the custody of the king's person, every one his month successively, and the whole to stand for the government of the state; yet with this limitation, "That the king by their counsel should not determine nor ordain any thing in great affairs, to which the queen, as princess and dowager, gave not her free consent and approbation." This impolitic partition of power, by giving the queen a negative in all public deliberations, soon threw matters into as great confusion as ever. The bishopric of Dunkeld became vacant, and was filled by the prior of Holyrood-house; but the earl of Angus being then upon his tour of duty about the king's person, prevailed with James to promise his brother that rich priory. The king had pregnant parts, but his youth and dissipation rendered him accessible to the earl's arts. Instead of instructing him in the science of government, scenes of luxury were opened to his view, and every method of diversion and amusement was practised to keep him from the knowledge of his own concerns; nor were even the other lords admitted to any share of public business. The priory of Holyrood-house remaining still vacant, the earl had interest enough to seize it, pretending that the lands belonging to it were necessary for the accommodation

modation of his attendants and equipages; tho' A. D. 1526.
 some say that his brother, the prior of Colding-
 ham, had then the nominal possession.

The queen-mother finding herself thus ex-
 cluded from all concerns of state, and perceiv-
 ing that she could not have access to her son,
 without being mortified with the odious com-
 pany of her husband, and imagining, what af-
 terwards happened, that Angus would become
 universally odious to the rest of the nobility,
 retired, all of a sudden, with her domestics to
 Stirling; by which the king was left under the
 sole custody and tuition of her husband. He
 made a most rapacious, and indeed impolitic,
 use of his power. He struck archbishop Beaton
 out of the list of privy-counsellors, and mo-
 delled that board to his own pleasure. He
 made his uncle, Archibald, lord-treasurer of
 the kingdom, and gave the post of great cham-
 berlain to his favourite brother, Sir George.
 It was now visible that Angus trusted for pro-
 tection to the king of England, next to the
 ascendancy he imagined he had over the mind
 of his own sovereign; and that he intended to
 engross into his own hands, or those of his
 family, all places of power and profit. The
 archbishop of St. Andrew's having now joined
 the queen's party, advised her very sensibly to
 make a formal demand upon her husband, that
 the order of government which had been set-
 tled in the late parliament should take place;
 and

from which
 the queen-
 dowager is
 excluded.

A.D. 1526. and that, under a penalty, he should set the king's person at liberty. This was a requisition that the earl did not think proper to answer in his own person. He employed his brother, Sir George, to draw up a declaration, which was published in the king's name, importing, "That the earl of Angus being so highly favoured by his good uncle the king of England, and that James himself being under great obligations to him, that neither the queen nor the other lords need be in any pain about him, as he chose to spend his time with the earl of Angus rather than with any other lord in the kingdom." The king, according to Buchanan, was, about this time, carried by Angus to the castle of St. Andrew's, which Angus took possession of, and bestowed of every thing within it as if it had been his own.

Insolence
of the
Douglasses.

Buchanan, who was well informed, has, at this period, opened a scene of oppression and murder committed by the Douglasses. He tells us, that William, brother to Angus, the same who had been nominated to the abbey of Holyrood-house, had, for five years, forcibly kept possession of that of Coldingham, from the time of the murder of Robert Blackader, the former abbot; tho' Patric Blackader, Robert's cousin-german, had obtained it from the pope, with consent of the regent duke of Albany. That Patric, having a law-suit with one of the Humes, a favourite and relation of the earl of Angus,

Angus was murdered near Edinburgh by Hume's party; and that when a pursuit was preparing against the murderers, the pursuers desisted, on seeing Sir George Douglas in their company. A. D. 1526.

James, notwithstanding all the pains taken to keep him from the knowledge of himself, had discernment enough to perceive that he was no better than a prisoner, and prudence sufficient to form a scheme for his own deliverance. The earls of Argyle and Arran had for some time left the court, and were living upon their own estates; but the earl of Lenox acted the courtier so well, that the Douglasses harbouring no distrust of his intentions, suffered him to remain at court, and have free access at all times to the king's person. His gentle, insinuating, manners won the confidence of James, who opened to him his mind, bewailed his own unfortunate situation, and implored his assistance in escaping from the hands of his insolent keepers. Lenox pointed out to him some of his domestics, who were secret well-wishers to his mother, and would convey his sentiments to her and the lords of her party. We are told accordingly, that, about the very time the declaration above-mentioned was emitted, he secretly sent letters to his mother, and the heads of her party, intreating them (I cannot make use of more expressive words than those of Drummond) that they would remove him from the

James
detained
among
them,

opens him-
self to the
earl of
Lenox.

A. D. 1526.

earl, and not suffer him any longer to remain under his imperious government; and if it could not be otherwise done, to accomplish it by main force of arms, if they had any pity, or if any sparks of duty remained unquenched in them towards him; if they dared enterprize aught for a royal, though now thrall'd, suppliant, or obey the command of a king in prison; that the answer which he sent before unto them and his mother was by constraint and compulsion, drawn from him and far from his mind.

This letter being safely delivered to the queen, she assembled her party at Stirling; and they resolved to raise all the force they could for the king's deliverance, trusting to his firmness that he would support them. Without loss of time, they began their march towards Edinburgh, while Angus, assembling his friends, and the citizens of that capital, who were entirely devoted to his interest, prepared to give them a warm reception; but to carry along with them the king. This traitorous resolution being imparted to the queen, and the lords with her, it dismayed them so much, that, fearing the king might fall in the contest, they returned to Stirling, and disbanded their forces; and thus the authority of the earl of Angus seemed to be better established than ever. The first use he made of this encrease of power, was to renew his connections with England. In the treaty of Moore, which

A. D. 1526.

which had been concluded between Henry and the French king, Scotland had been comprehended as an ally of France; and it had been agreed, that neither his most Christian majesty, nor his mother the regent, nor any in their name, should, directly or indirectly, advise, or assist, the duke of Albany to return to Scotland. Soon after, the earl of Angus, who is at this time stiled warden of the east and middle marches, procured a commission for himself, the lord privy-seal, Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, the abbot of Paisley, and others, for prolonging the truce with England for three years, which was accordingly concluded on the tenth of October at Berwic. Angus was at this time alarmed by a meeting of the queen's party at Linlithgow; and before he would ratify the treaty, he resigned his post to his colleagues; and published an instrument for that purpose, to which the earls of Lenox and Argyll are witnesses. In this writing, which was drawn up by way of manifesto, the earl studiously avoided all mention of the queen-mother; but the lords of her party were loaded with the most injurious epithets, as being traitors, disturbers of the public peace, fomenters of the disorders upon the borders, and enemies to granting any redress to the subjects of England, as both reason and justice demanded (for such are the words of the instrument). We know of no opposition given to the earl in his march

A manifesto.

A.D. 1526

to Linlithgow, so that possibly the whole was a false alarm; and upon his return to Berwic, he ratified the peace with England; but, in the treaty, all mention of the king's marriage is dropt, and the payment of the queen-mother's jointure secured.

The queen-
dowager di-
vorced.

On the seventh of March James ratified this treaty, as Francis, who was now restored to his own dominions, did the comprehension of the Scots on the twenty-fifth of April, with the article concerning the duke of Albany. Nothing now was wanting to render Angus despotic in the government, but the possession of the great seal. The queen-mother, after her attempt to relieve her son, had taken refuge in Murrayland with the earl of Murray. The earls of Arran and Argyle remained upon their estates in the western parts of the kingdom, and the archbishop of St. Andrew's had retired to Dumfermling with the great seal. As Angus could execute no public deed of importance without it, and as he knew the archbishop would not give it up upon his requisition, he prevailed upon the king to demand it by a special message; which the prelate respectfully obeyed, though he justly considered it as proceeding from Angus. Bishop Lesley, who probably was not mistaken in his fact, here fixes the final determination of the great cause of divorce between Angus and the queen-mother. I have already hinted that each was sufficiently for-

forward in obtaining the sentence that was reciprocal; but political considerations had hitherto suspended it. Her brother, the king of England, disliked the whole process, which he thought reflected dishonour upon his sister; and neither of the parties were fond of disobliging him. Add to this, that the ground of the divorce was very questionable. All that the queen urged, was a pre-contract between him and another lady, daughter to the earl of Traquair, who had borne him a daughter. As I perceive no claim entered by this lady, the allegation may justly be considered as a blind for the divorce, which was accordingly pronounced by the archbishop of St. Andrew's; but the court being of opinion that the queen was ignorant of the contract, or rather intrigue, the legitimacy of the daughter was established. Historians are fond of representing this divorce as a piece of revenge intended by the prelate against Angus; but I can see no reason for that surmise, because both parties were equally desirous of the separation; and the divorce was afterwards confirmed by a bull from Rome; upon which the queen married Henry Stuart, son to the lord Avondale, who was afterwards created lord Methven, and master of the ordnance, by her son.

The secret good correspondence between the king and the earl of Lenox still continued; and the imprudence of Angus every day gave fresh matter

A. D. 1526.

James attempts to escape from Angus.

A.D. 1526. matter of disgust to James. He had been declared chancellor of the kingdom, upon receiving the great seal; and well knowing he had no other support but from his friends and followers, he suffered them to rob and ravage the estates of his opponents. The latter, who disowned the legality of all his acts, made reprisals; so that there was scarcely, towards the end of the year 1526, the face of civil government in Scotland. The court was deserted, because the nobility repaired to their estates to defend them against their enemies; and even the earl of Angus was often obliged to leave James to the custody of Lenox. That prince every day repeated his complaints of his miserable situation, and charged Lenox to give him his positive advice how he could most effectually break his fetters. Lenox thus urged, affected the greatest caution and deference, and recommended the baron of Buccleugh as the most proper person in Scotland to work his deliverance, having a great following in the southern parts, and being an enemy to the earl of Angus and the Douglasses. The king left the management of the manner in which his liberty was to be obtained, to Lenox, who entered into a secret correspondence with Buccleugh for that effect. It was agreed between them that Buccleugh should foment the disorders upon the borders, till they came to such a height as to require the king's personal presence to compose them.

Buccleugh

Buccleugh put this scheme so artfully into execution, that James went to Jedburgh, attended by the earls of Angus and Lenox, the lords Hume, Fleming, and Erskine, with the Kers of Cessford and Farniherst. Buccleugh was to wait at Melrofs with six hundred choice men, till the king, having finished his business at Jedburgh, should be on his return to Edinburgh; and as soon as he understood that the Humes and Kers had taken leave of his majesty, he was then to make the attempt to carry him off from the Douglasses. Buccleugh was exact as to time and place, but came in sight of the king and his company too soon after they parted with the Humes and the Kers. Angus, spying Buccleugh's men at a distance, told James that they were the robbers of Anandale, under their leader, Buccleugh; and ordered a pursuivant to advance, and command them to disperse. Their answer was, that they came to do the king service. Angus was at no loss for the meaning of those words. He probably dispatched a messenger to inform the Humes and the Kers of what had happened; and leaving the king upon a small rising-ground, attended by the earl of Lenox, the lords Erskine and Maxwell, Sir George Douglas, and a few domestics, he put his men in order of battle to receive Buccleugh's charge, which he did with great valour; and for some time the success was doubtful, but at last inclined to Buccleugh; when

A. D. 1523.

who defeats
Buccleugh.

when the Humes and the Kers returning, reinforced Angus, and Buccleugh's men were forced to give way. Their antagonists pursued them so keenly and incautiously, that Ker of Cessford was killed; upon which, the pursuit stopped, and Angus returned to the king, each party losing about fourscore. Though Angus exulted greatly on this service which he had performed for his master, as he pretended, yet it served only to quicken the latter in contriving farther means for his deliverance.

James
again medi-
ates an
escape.

Angus suspected that Lenox was accessory to Buccleugh's attempt, and began to treat him with a visible coldness; so that the latter thought it his wisest and safest course to declare himself at open enmity with his master's jailer. He advised James to make the archbishop of St. Andrew's his friend; which he privately did. The earl of Angus, upon this, applied to the earl of Arran and the Hamiltons, desiring him, for his own sake, to forget all that had passed, and unite himself with the Douglasses; offering him, at the same time, a share in the government and the disposal of places. He added, that he had certain intelligence that James intended to declare the earl of Lenox his heir; meaning, I suppose, upon the death of the duke of Albany, who was still alive, but without issue. The earl of Arran stood in the same degree of relation to the king as the earl of Lenox's mother, who was Arran's sister.

The

The latter's right, therefore, was prior to that of his nephew; and he agreed, without any difficulty, to the proposal of Angus. The earl of Lenox, on the other hand, privately received letters from James, directed to some of the principal nobility; and retiring suddenly from court to Stirling, he there published a manifesto, inviting all loyal subjects to assist him in delivering the king from his imprisonment. A. D. 1526.

We can have no high opinion of James, in thus being sensible of his thralldom, and yet seeking to deliver himself from it by secret, indirect, means, unless we suppose that he was actually confined by his jailers to his chamber. He was now of an age fit for government; and his own name, at the head of a declaration to assert his dignity, would undoubtedly have prevailed against the united families of Douglas and Hamilton, powerful as they were. It is possible that the earl of Lenox, to enhance his own services, might have persuaded him to be quiet till his deliverance was effected. He had, at this time, by his own authority, convoked a meeting of the king's friends at Stirling; and among them the archbishop of St. Andrews, and some other prelates, who agreed unanimously to take the field. They were soon joined by the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, lord Kilmaurs from the west, with two thousand men, and by a considerable number from Fife, Angus, Strathern, and Stirlingshire, who had 1527.
His ill
treatment
by the
Douglasses.

O

Vol. V. been

A.D. 1527. been raised by the queen-mother and the archbishop of St. Andrew's; so that, according to some authors, he was ten thousand strong, including a thousand Highlanders, who came as volunteers. The earl of Angus, without being daunted at this appearance (though he more than suspected that Lenox was favoured by the king) summoned the Hamiltons, the Humes, and the Kers to his assistance; and hearing that the earl of Lenox was advancing to Linlithgow, he hastily left Edinburgh at the head of two thousand of his own followers, leaving the king in the hands of his brother, Sir George, and his cousin, the provost of Edinburgh (where the inhabitants continued devoted to his service) with orders to bring the king to the field, with all the force they could muster. The citizens of Edinburgh accordingly put themselves under arms, and called for the king to head them. James pretended to be indisposed; but Sir George Douglas made him the following brutal speech: "Sir, rather than our enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold of your person; and, should you be torn in pieces in the struggle, we will carry off part of your body." Upon this speech, which James never either forgot or forgave, he mounted his horse, and set out towards Linlithgow, but with a very slow pace.

The earl of
Lenox killed
in endeavouring
to rescue
James.

The Hamiltons had, by this time, taken possession of an advantageous ground near Linlithgow;

A. D. 1527.

lithgow; but the earl of Arran, who had the most tender affection for Lenox, was still in hopes of prevailing with him to desist from his enterprize. He sent some gentlemen of his own name, whom he knew to be agreeable to Lenox, to lay before him the consequences of taking the field against the king in person, and the uncertainty, even if he should prevail, that James would protect him, and not deliver him up to law and his powerful enemies, who very possibly might make their peace at his expence. They represented how usual it was for princes to punish their subjects for services they could not repay; and that however well affected the Hamiltons were to the earl's person, they most undoubtedly would join the Douglasses, if he persisted in his attempt. Lenox's answer was that of a gallant nobleman, "That he had gone too far to recede; that dishonour was more to be dreaded than death, which he would willingly embrace, rather than not deliver his king from thralldom;" and the Hamiltons departing, he proceeded on his march, in three divisions of his army.

The king having mounted his horse, made so many feints and excuses, that Sir George Douglas, afraid of not arriving time enough to support his brother, made use of many indecent expressions and actions to push James on to the field of battle. An express arrived from Angus, informing his brother that he was about

Angus
victorious.

A. D. 1527. to engage with a superior number. The king was then at Corstorphin, about three miles to the west of Edinburgh, attended by three thousand men, when they heard the noise of the artillery; and a fresh messenger arrived, acquainting him that the earl of Angus was engaged with the division of Lenox's army commanded by the earl of Glencairn; and that the division commanded by Lenox himself was engaged with the Hamiltons. A third express arrived soon after, advising, that Lenox, if not beaten, was in the utmost danger. This quickened the motion of James. He ordered his attendants to make all the haste they could to the field of battle (which lay near the monastery of Emanuel, upon the river of Avon, the bridge of which was possessed by the Douglasses) to put a stop to the bloodshed, and, above all, to be careful that the earl of Lenox should receive no hurt. His precaution was too late. Sir James Hamilton, natural son to the earl of Arran (a monster who delighted in blood and cruelty) had persuaded his father to stand his ground against Lenox's men, without waiting for the king, that he might have all the glory to himself. Being advantageously posted on the rising-grounds, Lenox's men suffered greatly in the attack, from the stones rolled down upon them, which disordered their ranks; and the earl of Angus sending a detachment to support the Hamiltons, the latter

defeated

defeated their enemies. The earl of Lenox A. D. 1527. himself was wounded and taken prisoner by Hamilton of Pardowye ; but was murdered in cold blood by Sir James Hamilton. By this time, the king's attendants were arrived upon the field of battle ; and Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, a favourite with James, commanded both parties, in his master's name, to desist from fighting. He found the earl of Glencairn (or, according to others, his son, lord Kilmaurs) maintaining his ground, with no more than thirty men, against the Douglasses ; and arrived just time enough to convey the earl, who was wounded, to a place of safety. In another part of the field, he found the earl of Arran mourning most bitterly over the dead body of his slaughtered nephew, the earl of Lenox, which he had covered with his scarlet cloak, and he resigned him into Wood's hands to be buried. In short, the Douglasses and Hamiltons obtained a complete victory ; but, tho' the slaughter on both sides was very considerable, I know of no good author who mentions the number of the slain. It is remarkable, that the Highlanders in Lenox's army fled in the beginning of the engagement, either because they were struck with a panic, or commanded by chieftains whom they disliked. This action happened in September.

Though the earl of Angus and his friends were victorious, yet he knew not how soon
his

Grows unpopular and insolent.

A. D. 1527. his triumph might be fatal to himself and his party. The Highlanders still remained in a body; and he was sensible they had left the field neither through cowardice nor disloyalty. He was not sure how long he might be supported by the Hamiltons; and found he was shunned, hated, or envied by the other great nobility. On the night of the battle, he removed the king to Linlithgow, where James appeared inconsolable for the loss of his beloved Lenox. The conduct and behaviour of the Douglasses struck him, at the same time, with such terror, that he was obliged to dissemble as much as possible, because he thought his own life in danger; and self-preservation made him resolve to attempt his escape with the first opportunity. The earl of Angus, on the other hand, to follow his blow, and disconcert his enemies, marched with his troops to Fife, in hopes of surprising the queen and the chancellor archbishop of St. Andrew's, whom he considered as his chief enemies. The Hamiltons had likewise vowed revenge against the archbishop for having, as shall be seen in the ecclesiastical history, permitted Patric Hamilton, abbot of Ferm, to be burnt for a heretic in the spring of the year. The queen, who, according to Drummond, was now married to Henry Stuart, brother to lord Evandale, fled with her husband and his brother to Edinburgh, where they were admitted by the garrison into the

the

A. D. 1527.

the castle, which they proposed to defend against the party of the Douglasses. As to the archbishop, he fled to the mountains, where he tended cattle in a shepherd's dress. The Douglasses, however, seized and plundered his castle of St. Andrew's and the abbey of Dumfermling. Angus thus returned with the king victoriously to Edinburgh, and was preparing to besiege the castle when the queen, hearing that her son was among the number of the besiegers, ordered the gates of the castle to be thrown open, and surrendered herself and her husband to James, who was advised to commit them prisoners in the castle.

Angus and his party, to give the better colour to their proceedings, summoned all who had appeared in arms against them under Lenox, to take their trial, and undergo the law at Edinburgh; and those who refused to appear were forfeited, or obliged to purchase their safety with money. Many became vassals to the Hamiltons or the Douglasses; and the earl of Cassils was offered, by the bastard Hamilton, an indemnity, if he would own himself a vassal of that house; a condition which the earl magnanimously rejected. Being called to his trial, and indicted for having taken arms against the king, a gentleman of his name and family, who was his advocate, denied the charge, and offered to produce a letter under James's own hand, desiring the earl to assist in deliver-

His severity.

A.D. 1527.

delivering him from his goalers. This striking evidence confounded the prosecutors so much, that the earl was acquitted; but while he was upon his return home, he was way-layed, and murdered by Hugh Campbel, at the instigation of the bastard Hamilton.

During these transactions in the South, many of the Highland clans were perpetrating the most horrid scenes of rapine and murder, and the same spirit reigned even in some places of the Low-lands. Disputes between the Forbes's and the Lesleys, in the North, were carried on with great bloodshed on both sides. Some of the name of Mackintosh, a powerful family of Highlanders of that division which is called the Clan Chattan, murdered their head, because he endeavoured to check their barbarities. Though the murderers were put to death, yet the rest chose for their chief Hector Mackintosh, who was a bastard of the family, while the earl of Murray conveyed away the true heir, who was but an infant, to be educated among his mother's relations, the Ogilvies. This was resented so fiercely by Hector and the clan, that he invaded the earl of Murray's lands, and those of the Ogilvies, with fire and sword, and butchered twenty-four of the name of Ogilvie. A commission was sent from Edinburgh empowering the earl of Murray to punish the murderers; and hastily raising a body of men, he took and hanged two hundred of the Mackintoshes,

Disorders in
the North.

A. D. 1527.

kintoshes, among whom was William, brother to Hector. Such was the mistaken fidelity of the persons who were hanged, that, though each of them was separately offered his pardon, if he would discover where Hector was skulking, yet all of them rejected the condition, and embraced the halter. How glorious must such a behaviour have been in a better cause! Hector, after wandering about for some time, was protected by Alexander Dunbar, dean of Murray, who conveyed him to Edinburgh, where he threw himself at the feet of James, who was over-persuaded to pardon him, not being perhaps sufficiently apprised of his crimes. He was afterwards murdered at St. Andrew's by one Spence, a priest, who was first degraded, and then executed for the fact.

The state of the borders was little better than that of the Highlands, but it engaged the attention of Angus the more, as his estate and interest lay in those parts. The people of Liddesdale made terrible inroads upon his friends, and had even shaken the treaty lately concluded between the two kingdoms, by their incursions into England. The wardens on both sides had endeavoured to keep the peace, but all in vain; and, towards the end of this year, the Liddesdale men, who very possibly were engaged by the king's friends, indiscriminately plundered the Scotch as the English, which obliged the earl of Angus to take the field in person.

and the borders.

A. D. 1527. Marching to Jedburgh, he hanged twelve of the most notorious robbers, and obliged the rest to give him twelve hostages, whom he hanged likewise, upon their constituents renewing their predatory practices. Finding his presence necessary at Edinburgh, he took fresh hostages, and returned to that capital, where Buchanan tells us of an extraordinary exploit performed by a mean personage. An undergroom belonging to the late earl of Lenox was so grieved at his death, that cursing one of his fellow-servants for having seen the bastard Hamilton without killing him, he hastened to Edinburgh with that intention, and arrived at the palace of Holyrood-House, during a review of the Douglasses and Hamiltons in the courtyard. There spying his opportunity, he gave the bastard six wounds, but none of them mortal, in a private gallery. The Hamiltons, at first, thought the assassination had been committed by the Douglasses, and (so strongly did family jealousies then operate in Scotland) were preparing to revenge it, when the assassin was discovered with the bloody knife in his hand. He was put to the rack, but named no accomplices; and when, after suffering the most excruciating torments, his right-hand was struck off, he said, without altering his countenance, that it was punished less than it had deserved, for not better obeying the dictates of his mind.

The

The earl of Angus was now, to all appearance, so firmly settled in his power, that archbishop Beaton privately entered into a correspondence with his brother Sir George Douglas, to whom he offered lucrative leases, and other emoluments, for his intercession with the regent (as Angus was called) in his favour. The bargain was soon struck, and the archbishop was permitted to return with safety to his palace, about the time that the earl of Angus came back to Edinburgh from his border expedition. Nothing was then seen at court but festivities of every kind, in which the queen-mother, who was released from her confinement, partook, and was suffered to depart to the castle of Stirling, which was in the hands of her domestics, and which was so much despised by Angus, that he had neglected to secure it. During this jovial time, the crafty archbishop of St. Andrews invited the Douglasses to spend some days with him at his castle, which they accordingly did, carrying along with them the king, who probably was secretly apprised of his intention. When the court arrived at St. Andrews, the prelate entertained them not only with all the luxuries which the climate and season could produce, but brought from his stores rich jewels, chains, and massy pieces of plate, which he presented by way of propitiation to the Douglasses. James disssembled so well, that he seemed to

A. D. 1527.

James at last escapes from the Douglasses.

A.D. 1527. partake with delight in the most criminal pleasures, which furrounded him in great variety; and every day partook in the diversions of the field. In short, he appeared to be so much enamoured with this new scheme of life, that the earl of Angus thought there could be no danger in leaving him in the hands of his friends, till he should return to Lothian, upon public, as well as private, affairs.

Angus having taken leave of the king, left him in the custody of his uncle Archibald, his brother Sir George, and one James of Parkhead, who was captain of the guards that watched his majesty, on pretence of doing him honour. As soon as the archbishop heard that Angus was gone to Lothian, he sent an invitation to Sir George Douglas to come to St. Andrew's, where they might put the last hand to the leases, and finish the bargains that had been concluded between them. This was so plausible a pretext, that he immediately set out for St. Andrew's, while his uncle the treasurer went to Dundee, where he had an amour. James thinking this to be the best opportunity that ever presented to him, for an escape, resolved to avail himself of it at all events; and found means, by a private message, to apprize his mother of his design. It was then the season for hunting and diversion, which James often followed in the park of Falkland; and calling for his forester, he told him that, as the weather

weather was fine, he intended to kill a stag next morning, ordering him, at the same time, to summon all the gentlemen in the neighbourhood to attend him with their best dogs. He then called for his chief domestics, and commanded them to get his supper early, because he intended to be in the field by day-break; and he talked with the captain of his guard of nothing but the excellent sport he expected to have next morning. In the mean time, he had engaged two young men, the one a page of his own, the other John Hart, a helper about his stables, to attend him in his flight, and to provide him with the dress of a groom for a disguise. Having formally taken leave of his attendants, charging them to be ready early in the morning, and being left alone, he stole softly out of his bed-chamber, went to the stable unperceived by the guards, dressed himself in his disguise; and he and his companions mounting the three best horses there, he galloped to Stirling-castle; into which, by the queen's appointment, he was admitted soon after day-break. He commanded all the gates to be secured; and the queen having previously prepared every thing for a vigorous defence, orders were given that none should be admitted into the castle without the king's permission. Thus artfully did James deliver himself from a set of insolent tyrants, who had engrossed his power; and rather than not part with it, would have

A. D. 1527.

to Stirling.

A.D. 1527. have endangered, if not destroyed, his person. Some writers say, that the Douglasses and Angus preserved a most inviolable affection for the king. This is by no means unlikely, because it was not their interest to exasperate the other nobility, and a decent behaviour towards the king cost Angus nothing; but the conduct of his brother was barbarous and inexcusable, and plainly discovered what they were capable of acting, in cases of extremity. In short, the whole of their reign was a continued series of oppression, and a revival of the very worst part of the feudal constitutions. The lenity for which the same writers praise them towards the other nobles, was no more than a criminal connivance in the exercise of rapine, and aristocratical tyranny.

He is pursued.

About an hour after the king escaped from Falkland, Sir George Douglas returned; and being assured that his majesty was asleep, he went to bed. It appears, that James had been seen and known in his flight; for in the morning the bailiff of Abernethy came post haste to inform Sir George that the king had passed Stirling-bridge; and all enquiry being found in vain, they broke into the royal bed-chamber, where they found their fears confirmed. They had, however, some glimmering hope, that the king was gone to Bambrigh, but that surmise was likewise found to be false; and an express was dispatched, informing the earl of Angus

Angus of all that had happened; and he repaired to Falkland, where he and his friends came to a resolution of going to Stirling, and demanding access to the king. A. D. 1527.

James, by this time, had issued letters to the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athol, Glencairn, Menteith, Rothes, and Eglinton, the lords Graham, Levingston, Lindsay, Sinclair, Ruthven, Drummond, Evandale, Maxwell, and Semple. Before all of them could arrive at Stirling, the earl of Angus and his friends were upon their journey to the same place; but were stopped by a herald at arms, commanding them, on their allegiance, not to approach within six miles of the king's residence. This order having sufficiently intimated what they were to expect, the earl deliberated with his party how to proceed. Some of them were for marching on and taking the castle by surprise; but that was found to be impracticable, especially as they had no artillery. The earl and his brother therefore resolved to make a shew of submission to the king's order; and they accordingly went to Linlithgow. By this time, all the nobility I have mentioned, and many others, had assembled at Stirling; and James, calling them to council, inveighed against the tyranny of the Douglasses with an acrimony that sufficiently discovered what pain it gave him when he was obliged to bear it in silence, concluding his speech with these words: "There-
fore

His resentment of his treatment.

Lindsay.

A. D. 1527. fore I desire, my lords, that I may be satisfied of the said earl, his kin and friends. For I avow that Scotland shall not hold us both, while I be revenged on him and his."

Loyalty of
his subjects.

The result of the council's deliberation was, that proclamation should be made, renewing the order for the Douglasses not to approach the court, and divesting the earl of Angus and his brother of all their public employments. In the mean time, such was the moderation of the assembly, that, by their advice, James ordered the earl to retire to the north of the Spey till his pleasure should be known; but his brother was commanded to surrender himself a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, to take his trial in a very full parliament (all the members being summoned to attend) to be held at that town next September. The earl and his brother considered their compliance with those conditions as a prelude to their destruction; and resolved to justify their treasons by still greater excesses, in surprizing the town of Edinburgh, and holding it against the king and parliament, before the latter could assemble. Historians have not done that justice to the proceedings of the royal party, on this occasion, which they deserve. The management of the king's escape, his reception into Stirling, the fortifying that castle, and the ready obedience of his great nobility, some of whom attended him with their followers, before they receiv-

received any summonses for that purpose, are proofs of wise and spirited deliberations: their conduct, at this time, was equally consistent with the same plan of foresight. A. D. 1527.

It was naturally to be supposed that the Douglasses, who remained assembled in a numerous body, would make the attempt I have mentioned; but the royalists had the precaution to dispatch the lord Maxwell and the baron of Lochinvar, with a body of troops, to take possession of the town, till James could arrive with two thousand forces to their relief. Maxwell and Lochinvar made such dispatch, that they were in possession of the town, when the Douglasses appeared before it, and repulsed them, while a most terrible storm had scattered the troops under James, before he could come to their assistance, so effectually, that, being left almost without attendants, his person might have been taken by the smallest party of the enemy. Upon the retreat of the Douglasses from Edinburgh, the parliament met; and none of them appearing in pursuance of their summons, the earl of Angus, his brother, Sir George Douglas, his uncle, Archibald Douglas, and Alexander Drummond of Carnoc, with some of their chief dependents, were indicted and forfeited for the following offences: “The assembling of the king’s lieges, with intention to have assailed his person; the detaining of the king against his will and plea-

Disappointment and forfeiture of the Douglasses.

A.D. 1527. sure, and contrary to the articles agreed upon for the space of two years and more; all which time the king was in fear and danger of his life." We know of no advocate for the earl and his friends, but one Banantyne, who had the courage to plead their cause against those heinous charges; and so exasperated were both the king and parliament against them, that the former swore he never would forgive them, and the latter that they never would intercede for their pardon. Without entering into the justice or propriety of those mutual resolutions, I cannot find that, at the time the earl of Angus and his friends were summoned to appear before the parliament, the proclamation for prohibiting their appearing within six miles of the court had been countermanded. So determined were the king and his nobility on their destruction, that they probably had overlooked that precaution, though, indeed, it was chiefly a matter of form. In reality, the oaths I have mentioned were intended to discourage the king of England from continuing the vigorous applications he was every day making, by letters and otherwise, for the pardon of Angus; and, to shut out all hopes of that kind, James created his mother's third husband (to whom she had been married for some time) lord Methven, and gave him the direction of his artillery.

The

The disgrace and forfeiture of the Douglasses having created many vacancies in the state, Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, and tutor to the king, was nominated lord chancellor, though but indifferently qualified for a post that ought to have been filled by an able statesman; and Robert Carncross, a person (says Buchanan) more eminent for wealth than virtue, was made treasurer, but soon after displaced, being suspected of favouring the Douglasses; and Robert Barton, one of the king's favourites, was appointed to succeed him. The Douglasses still kept their arms in their hands; and being joined by a great number of out-laws and robbers in the South, they ravaged all the lands of their enemies, and carried their devastations to the gates of Edinburgh. A commission of lieutenancy was offered to the earl of Bothwell to act against those rebels; but, though he declined it, it was accepted by the earl of Argyle and lord Hume, who did great service in protecting the country from the out-laws. Several villages, however, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, were burnt; and all the provisions the Douglasses could find were carried off to their castle of Tantallon, which now served as their head-quarters, and was threatened with a siege.

A. D. 1527.
Their posts
filled up.

It is remarkable, that the castle of Dunbar remained still in the hands of the duke of Albany's garrison, who recognized no master but him.

Tantallon
besieged.

A. D. 1527. him. The place was well stored with artillery of all kinds, and lying in the neighbourhood of Tantallon, it was easy to transport them to the siege; but James thought he had no right to make use of them without the consent of one Maurice, governor of the castle. Having summoned, by proclamation, the inhabitants of Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirlingshire, Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, to be ready to compear at Edinburgh on the tenth of December, with forty days victuals, to assist in the siege, he sent three noblemen to borrow artillery from Maurice, and to remain as pledges for the safe re-delivery of the same; and the several pieces required were accordingly sent him. This delicacy is the more remarkable, as we are told that the duke of Albany had given orders that every thing in his castle should be at the king's service.

A negotiation,

However unanimous the parliament might appear against the Douglasses, yet James was but ill seconded in this attempt. The unfortunate, if severely proceeded against, generally find friends; and the enemies of the Douglasses had impolitically rendered it treasonable for any person to shelter or protect the earl of Angus, his kinsmen, or followers. This proceeding, in a country where the Douglasses had so many connections, carried with it an appearance of cruelty, and a thirst of revenge, especially as James had chosen such a season of the year for carrying

carrying on the siege. In short, after battering the place for some days, and losing one Falconer, his chief engineer, the king was obliged to abandon his enterprize, or rather to turn the siege into a blockade, with no great credit to his first essay in the field. Some historians intimate, that Angus found means to corrupt the other engineers; but I perceive that, before this time, a negociation was going forward between James and the king of England, the nature of which proves, that the former was now rendered more placable than he was towards the Douglasses, and was the true reason why the siege was suspended.

The truce between Scotland and England was now near expiring; and Henry, under colour of that, gave a commission to the prior of Durham, Thomas Magnus, Sir Anthony Ughtred, captain of the town and castle of Berwic, William Frankelyn, chancellor of Durham, and Sir Thomas Tempest. James seems to have been in no haste to enter upon this negociation, because he understood that the English commissioners were privately instructed to insist upon the Douglasses being restored to their estates and dignities. England was, at that time, the principal ally of Francis against the emperor; and this gave a handle for Francis to interpose so far in favour of the Douglasses, that he brought James to consent to a preliminary negociation for their obtaining at least

A.D. 1527.

least a secure retreat in England. On the fourth of December, he appointed Sir William Scot of Balwiery, Adam Otterburn of Auldham, and Andrew Ker of Farniherst, to treat with the English commissioners. By way of preliminary, it was agreed, on the twelfth of December, that the wardens of both nations should meet on the stated court days, at the appointed places, for redress of border grievances, which had happened since the year 1525, between the inhabitants of Liddesdale in Scotland, and those lying on the water of Levin in England. Nothing can give the reader a more true idea of the lawless independency usurped by those borderers, than the convention on this occasion; for it was agreed, that if no reparation could be obtained from them for their respective depredations, the king of England should be at liberty to invade Liddesdale, and the king of Scotland the inhabitants upon the Levin, with fire and sword, without any breach of the peace on either side, till each prince should obtain satisfaction for his subjects. The English commissioners still insisting in favour of the Douglasses, those of Scotland offered to carry any dispatches they might have from the king of England on that head. They farther offered to forward any humble suit which the earl and his friends might make for their pardon to James; and hinted, that if Henry should grant the earl and his friends an asylum in

Eng-

England, it should be considered as no breach of any treaty to be concluded between the two crowns, provided the castle of Tantallon was surrendered by the earl into their master's hands. A. D. 1527.

The English commissioners, I suppose, had leave from Angus to agree to this preliminary, and a treaty was accordingly concluded at Berwic on the fourteenth of December, which the reader will find in the notes *. This treaty and a treaty concluded.

* I. "That there shall be a peace for five complete years, from this date, between England and Scotland.

II. "That during that time, neither of the princes, nor their subjects, shall make war on the other.

III. "That neither prince shall receive into his dominions any rebels, or people suspected, but shall deliver them up.

IV. "That neither of the princes shall protect manslaughterers, thieves, robbers, deserters, or any other malefactors of the other's kingdom, but shall surrender them to justice.

V. "That either king may refuse his safe-conduct to the subjects of the other, although it has been desired by his lawful prince; but that the supplicatory letters, in case of refusal, shall protect the messenger.

VI. "If any subjects of England kill, rob, or commit any trespasses upon a Scots subject, the warden, his lieutenant, or deputy, shall use all their endeavour to find and bring them to the warden court, where, after legal conviction, they shall be punished by their own warden, as the nature of the crime merits.

VII. "If any Scottish subjects kill or rob any Englishman, the same course is to be observed, and the same impartiality of punishment.

VIII. "In cases of shipwreck, the sailors, passengers, and merchants, to be hospitably entertained and protected, as was practised of old.

IX. "If the subjects of either king return, after plundering the opposite marches, it shall be lawful for the men of the borders whom he has injured, without any passport, to pursue, within six days, the said malefactor; provided, upon their entry, they wait upon some honest and respectable man of that march, and acquaint him with the cause of their coming, and describe the cattle they may have lost, and require his assistance and appearance, in case of a trial.

X. "But,

A. D. 1528. was ratified on the twenty-eighth of January, next year, by both kings; and the earl of Angus having accordingly delivered up his castle, retired to England.

Disposition
of James.

James being now delivered from all dread of the Douglasses, and under no controul from any party, shewed excellent dispositions for go-

X. "But, as it has been too frequent for the subjects of both to enter the dominions of the other, in great numbers, and there publicly fell wood for their own uses, the lieges, not excepting those who dwell in the debateable grounds, are henceforth strictly forbidden to do that.

XI. "That the town, castle, and marches of Berwic, shall be comprehended in this truce.

XII. "That the destroying the fish-garth at Esk shall be no violation of the treaty.

XIII. "If any Scotsmen shall become lieges of England, and vice versa, they shall be bound to the observance of the above articles.

XIV. "If any subject shall attempt, of himself, the reparation of any loss, by making reprisals, he shall not only lose the principal, but be punished as the crime deserves.

XV. "The lordship of Lorn, in Scotland, and the island of Lundy, in England, shall be excepted from the truce.

XVI. "No infringement, by either party, shall be deemed sufficient to dissolve the treaty, but shall be redressed.

XVII. "That, in the interim, the king of Scots shall send his ambassadors to the king of England, to treat of a perpetual peace.

XVIII. "That the confederates of both princes shall be included, provided they have not possessed themselves of the dominions, or detained any debts, or pensions, quoque modo pertinentia.

XIX. "That queen Margaret shall enjoy the whole of the dowry confirmed to her at her marriage with the late king, by the three estates.

XX. "That letters, ratifying the above articles, shall be exchanged in two months.

XXI. "And, lastly, it was agreed that the peace should be proclaimed upon the borders (in omnibus & singulis insignioribus locis) within fourteen days after the date of the treaty."

vernment.

vernment. Finding that the borderers were by no means pleased with the late treaty, and that they were renewing their depredations, he resolved to strike at the root of an evil which had so long proved disgraceful and dangerous to his ancestors, by giving no quarter to the chiefs of those robbers, whose principal residence was in Liddesdale. This was the more necessary, as their daring attempts had exasperated the English so much, that they had actually burnt a town in Teviotdale; and they had killed one Robert Kerr, a man of some consequence. Two of the heads of the Scots borderers were Cockburn of Kenderlaw, and Adam Scot, commonly called king of the thieves. Both of them were barons, and had been so inured in the practice, that they thought there was no crime in robbing, and appeared publicly in Edinburgh, where James ordered them to be apprehended, tried, and hanged. He next proceeded with great firmness against many noblemen, and principal gentlemen, who were only suspected of being disaffected to the late peace. All of them had behaved with great loyalty, and some of them had done him the most important services. Of this number were the earl of Hume, the lord Maxwell, with the barons of Buccleugh, Farnherst, Polwart, Johnston, and Mark Kerr. Though I know nothing particularly of what was laid to the charge of those noblemen and

A.D. 1528.

A. D. 1528. gentlemen, yet so zealous was James for the
 His justice; impartial administration of justice, that he ordered them all, with many other chief gentlemen of the borders, to be sent to prison, where they lay till they entered into recognizances themselves, and found bail for their good behaviour.

reduces the borderers.

Of all the party of the Douglasses, none of any note, excepting Alexander Drummond of Carnock, was suffered to return home, at the earnest request of the ambassadors, and the treasurer Barton. This lenity was of very little consequence; for James having appointed the earl of Murray to be sole warden of the Scotch marches, with power to treat with the earl of Northumberland, their conferences had broken off, on account of fresh violences happening every day; and some informations he had received from them, had prevailed with James to imprison the noblemen and gentlemen I have already mentioned. He now resolved to attempt in person what his predecessors and he had so often failed in, by their deputies. As he was known to be violently addicted to hunting, he summoned his nobility even by north the Forth to attend him, with their horses and dogs, which they did in such numbers, that his hunting retinue consisted of above eight thousand persons, two-thirds of whom were well armed. This preparation gave no suspicion to the borderers, as great hunting-matches, in those

Lindsay.

those days, commonly consisted of some thousands; and James, having set out upon his diversion, is said to have killed five hundred and forty deer. Among the other gentlemen who had been summoned to attend him, was John Armstrong of Gilnockhall. He was the head of a numerous clan, who lived with great pomp and splendor upon the contributions under which they laid the English on the borders. He was himself always attended by twenty-six gentlemen, on horseback, well mounted, and armed, as his body-guards. Having received the king's invitation, he was fond of displaying his magnificence to his sovereign; and attiring himself and his guard more pompously than common, they presented themselves before James, from whom they expected some particular mark of distinction for their services against the English, and for the remarkable protection they had always given to their countrymen the Scots. On their first appearance, James, not knowing who he was, returned Armstrong's salute, imagining him to be some great nobleman; but hearing his name, he ordered him and his followers to be immediately apprehended, and sentenced them to be hanged upon the spot. It is said that James, turning to his attendants, asked them, pointing at Armstrong, "What does that knave want, that a king should have but a crown, and a sword of honour?" Armstrong begged hard for his life,

A.D. 1528.

and hangs
Armstrong.His civil re-
gulations.

and offered to serve the king in the field with forty horsemen, besides making him large presents of jewels and money, with many other tempting offers. Finding the king inexorable, "Fool that I am (said he) to look for warm water under ice, by asking grace of a graceless face;" and then he and his followers submitted to their fate *. Those, and some other executions of the same kind, restored peace to the borders.

In the northern isles a bloody war commenced between the earl of Caithness, and the lord Sinclair, about the government of the islands of Shetland. The earl was defeated, and killed, with the loss of five hundred men, a strong evidence that the government of those islands was as yet unsettled; nor do we know of any consequence attending the affair. Some melancholy accidents happened towards the South, where a vessel was sunk near Stirling, and forty persons, most of them of rank, lost their lives. The laird of Tulliallan, by the instigation of one Lothian, a priest, murdered the abbot of Culrofs, for which the priest was degraded and beheaded; and Tulliallan and his accomplices were executed at Edinburgh.

* The account I have given of this Armstrong is confirmed, in the main, by all our historians; but Lindsay's relation is the most particular, and agrees with an old ballad that was composed at the time, and was published in a collection of Scotch poems, called the Ever Green.

A. D. 1530.

James found himself now at leisure to attend the civil regulations of his kingdom, and to indulge his favourite diversion of hunting, which he rendered subservient to the preservation of the public peace, as he was always attended in those expeditions by a force sufficient to subdue the most powerful robbers and out-laws. He chose, this year, the Highlands for the scene of his diversion, to which he was attended by all the foreign ministers residing at his court. I have, in the notes, given the reader *

* “ Syne (then) the next summer, (the king) past to the Highland to hunt in Athole, and took with him his mother Margaret, queen of Scotland, and an embassador of the pope’s, who was in Scotland for the time. The earl of Athole, hearing of the king’s coming, made great provision for him in all things pertaining to a prince, that he was as well served and eased, with all things necessary to his estate, as he had been in his own palace of Edinburgh. For I heard say, this noble earl gart (caused) make a curious palace to the king, to his mother, and to the embassador, where they were so honourably eased and lodged as they had been in England, France, Italy, or Spain, concerning the time and equivalent, for their hunting and pastime; which was builded in the midst of a fair meadow, a fair palace of green timber, wind with green birks, that were green both under and above, which was fashioned in four quarters, and in every quarter and nuik thereof a great round, as it had been a block-house, which was lofted and gested the space of three house height; the floors laid with green scarrets and spreaths, medwarts and flowers, that no man knew whereon he zeid, but as he had been in a garden. Further, there were two great rounds in ilk side of the gate, and a great portculleis of tree, falling down with the manner of a barrace, with a draw-bridge, and a great stank of water of sixteen foot deep, and thirty foot of breadth. And also this palace within was hung with fine tapestry and arrasses of silk, and lighted with fine glafs windows in all airths; that this palace was as pleasantly decored, with all necessities pertaining to a prince, as it had been his own palace-royal at home. Further, this earl gart make such provision for the king, and his mother,
and

A. D. 1530. a most curious account of one of those hunting-matches, which, in magnificence, must have vied with any thing of the kind exhibited by a private nobleman, in any part of

and the embassador, that they had all manner of meats, drinks, and delicates that were to be gotten, at that time, in all Scotland, either in burgh or land; that is to say, all kind of drink, as ale, beer, wine, both white and claret, malvery, muskadel, Hippocras, aquavitæ. Further, there was of meats, wheat-bread, main-bread and ginge-bread; with fleshes, beef, mutton, lamb, veal, venison, goose, grice, capon, coney, cran, swan, partridge, plover, duck, drake, brissel-cock and pawns, black-cock and muir-fowl, cappercaillies: and also the stanks, that were round about the palace, were full of all delicate fishes, as salmonds, trouts, pearches, pikes, eels, and all other kind of delicate fishes that could be gotten in fresh waters; and all ready for the banquet. Syne were there proper stewards, cunning baxters, excellent cooks and potingars, with confectiions and drugs for their deserts; and the halls and chambers were prepared with costly bedding, vessel and napery, according for a king; so that he wanted none of his orders more than he had been at home in his own palace. The king remained in this wilderness, at the hunting, the space of three days and three nights, and his company, as I have shewn. I heard men say, it cost the earl of Athole, every day, in expences, a thousand pounds.

“ The embassador of the pope, seeing this great banquet and triumph, which was made in the wilderness, where there was no town near by twenty miles, thought it a great marvel that such a thing could be in Scotland, considering that it was named The Arse of the World, by other countries; and that there should be such honesty and policy in it, especially in the Highland, where there was but wood and wilderness. But, most of all, this embassador marvelled to see, when the king departed, and all his men took their leave, the Highland-men set all this fair place in a fire, that the king and the embassador might see it. Then the embassador said to the king, “ I marvel, Sir, that you should thole yon fair place to be burnt, that your grace has been so well lodged in.” Then the king answered the embassador, and said, “ It is the use of our Highland-men, though they be never so well lodged, to burn their lodging when they depart.” See Lindsay’s Hist. of Scot. p. 266, &c.

Europe.

Europe. The queen-mother attended him in this tour of pleasure; and Lindsay, the historian, had the account he has given us from his namesake, the famous Sir David Lindsay, who was a bed-chamberman to James, and probably upon the spot. When this expedition was over, James made a progress through Athol and Strathern, from whence he passed to Dundee and St. Andrews, where he and his court were nobly entertained by archbishop Beaton, and the prior Hepburn. After this, he spent most of the winter at Stirling; and next year, in the spring, he built part of one the wings of the abbey of Holyrood-house *. About the same time he erected, in the best stile of architecture in those days, a noble palace at Linlithgow. While James was thus laudably employing himself at home, he was purchasing, by his agents abroad, especially in Flanders, all kinds of arms, artillery, and ammunition, for the use of his castles and forts in Scotland.

The tranquillity of the nation was such this year, that history furnishes but few public transactions; and therefore Buchanan, and other authors, are copious in describing a natural phænomenon, which this, and the next year,

History of
one Scot,
Buchanan.
Spotswood.
Lefley.

* I am told that part of this building still remains, and forms the north corner of the front of that palace. Inigo Jones, who was at Edinburgh, seems to have had it in his eye, in the famous plan he drew of a palace for Whitehall.

employ-

A.D. 1531. employed the attention of all Europe. One Scot, a West-countryman, having lost a law-suit, was thrown into prison, and lived there thirty-three days without meat or drink. Being freed from prison, he fled for sanctuary to Holyrood-House, where he is said to have lived a hundred and six days in the same manner. James hearing of this wonderful person, ordered that his apparel should be strictly searched, and that he should be shut up, without any company, in the castle of Edinburgh. During his continuance there for thirty-two days, bread and water was brought him every day; but he tasted neither. Upon his being released from the castle, he wandered naked through the streets of Edinburgh, and declared that his abstinence was owing to the assistance of the Virgin Mary. His adventures, his pilgrimages, his sufferings, and his fastings, after this, are too tedious to be mentioned here. It is sufficient to say, that he begged, or fasted, his way through England to Rome, where, giving fresh specimens of his abstinence, he obtained a permissorial bull, recounting the several facts I have related, and allowing him to visit the holy sepulchre. The republic of Venice, in his passing through that city, was so well satisfied he was no impostor, that he was presented with fifty golden ducats. Upon his return from the Holy Land, he made several attempts to lay the public under contribution; and,

and, at last, hiring a garret, he erected a shrine, A. D. 1531.
 surrounded with wax-tapers, and placed his
 daughter, a beautiful young virgin, in the mid-
 dle, pretending she was the Virgin Mary. The
 imposture was detected, but we know nothing an impostor.
 farther of Scot, than that he retired to his origi-
 nal manner of life. Though this man's history
 is represented as I have related it, by three ca-
 pital historians, of different religious persua-
 sions, yet the whole appears to have been an
 imposture carried on by an enthusiast for po-
 pery; but willing, at the same time, to fleece the
 people. This can scarcely be doubted, when
 we consider that the Reformation was begin-
 ning now to make a rapid progress all over
 Italy; that popish priests and churchmen are
 the chief, if not the only original evidences, of
 the miracle; and that by their management,
 such a scheme to recommend the worship of
 the Virgin Mary, was very practicable.

I have been the more full upon this impos- Bigotry of
James.
 ture, because it was an instance of this prince's
 deplorable blindness in matters of religion. He
 was, at this time, governed by archbishop Bea-
 ton, and his nephew the cardinal, both of them
 bitter enemies to the Reformation, and authors
 of the woeful murders that were daily com-
 mitting in Scotland on that account. In other
 respects, James undoubtedly shewed great con-
 cern for the welfare of his people; but, per-
 haps, he mistook the means. Being dissatisfied
 Vol. V. S with

A. D. 1532. with the ordinary administration of justice, he had recourse to the parliament of Paris for a model of the like institution in Scotland. Great objections lay to juries in civil matters, and to ambulatory courts of justice. The authority of the heritable jurisdictions was almost exclusive of all law; for though the king might preside in them, yet he seldom did; and appeals before the council were disagreeable and expensive. The institution of the lords of articles, which I have already mentioned, threw too much weight into their scale, as no business could be transacted in parliament but what they allowed of, and prepared; and it was always in the power of the crown to direct them as the king pleased. The true source of the public grievances, in matters of property, lay in the disregard shewn to the excellent acts which had passed during the reigns of the three first James's, and which had not been sufficiently supported in the late reigns. The evil had gathered strength during the minority of James the fifth, and he resolved to establish a standing jury for all matters of law and equity (for, properly speaking, the court of session in Scotland is no other) * with a president, who was to be the mouth of the assembly. On the thirteenth of May, this year, as I find by a curious manuscript in the British Museum, the

Institution
of the court
of Session,

* Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. No. 2363.

lords

A. D. 1532.

lords of the articles laid before the parliament the proposition for instituting this court, in the following words: "Item, anent (concerning) the second artickel concerning the order of justice; because our fovereign lord is maist desirous to have an permanent order of justice for the universal of all his liege; and therefore tendis to institute an college of cunning and wise men for doing and administation of justice in all civil actions: and therefore thinke to be chosen certain persons maist convenient and qualified yair, (there) to the number of fifteen persoins, half spiritual, half temporal, with an president."

The first members of this new court were the abbot of Cambuskenneth, president, Master Richard Bothwell, Sir John Dingwell, Mr. Henry White, Mr. Robert Schanwell, vicar of Kirkaldie, Master William Gibson, Mr. Thomas Hay, Mr. Arthur Boyce, the laird of Balwiery, Sir John Campbell, Mr. Adam Otterburn, James Colvil of East-Weemys, the justice clerk, Mr. Francis Bothwell, and Mr. James Lawfon.

Though James, in instituting this court, had certainly a salutary view for the good of his subjects, yet I am of Buchanan's mind, that the institution was by far too arbitrary for a free people; as it left their properties entirely in the breasts of fifteen standing jurymen, each of whom was removeable at the king's pleasure. This was not the only evil attending the institution, for it took place at a time the most

censured.

A. D. 1552. critical that had ever happened, with regard to religious liberty; and half those jurymen, or judges, if the reader pleases to call them so, being ecclesiastics, and the other half, it is presumable, of the old religion, what justice was to be expected in matters of property, to any suspected of favouring the Reformation? Add to this, that, contrary to the establishment of all other juries, a bare majority decided every question that came before the court, and the king had the original nomination of every member. Upon their meeting, they resolved, according to Buchanan, on many excellent plans, for the administration of justice; but their conduct was far from answering the public expectation. In short, I can look upon this new institution only as a scheme projected by the Beaton, and other violent churchmen, for retarding the progress of the Reformation, though they coloured it over to James with the specious pretence of public good, on account of the perambulatory administration of justice. Had the excellent regulations which passed in James the fourth's parliament, for obliging every gentleman of fortune to study the civil law, and those of his country, been strictly enforced, they certainly would have answered the ends proposed much better. The judges, it is true, being changed every year, might not have been masters of the causes left unfinished by their predecessors; but a bench
fully

fully instructed in the laws of their country, and unbiaſſed by the emoluments ariſing to the lawyers, would have left no cauſe unſiſhed, when we conſider the ſimple principles of juſtice and equity on which they then proceeded. A. D. 1532

The commencement of the Reformation in England, the divorce of Henry the eighth from his queen, Catharine of Auſtria, and his marriage with Anne Bullen, marchioneſs of Pembroke, falls in with this period. Thoſe weighty revolutions in England, which threatened the utter extinction of popery there, could not fail to alarm its votaries in Scotland. They well knew the near relation between Henry and James, who, failing his daughter, continued to be next heir to the Engliſh crown; and they were ſenſible how much it was Henry's intereſt to perſuade James to follow his example in throwing off the papal yoke. The clergy in Scotland, therefore, from being the beſt eccleſiaſtical ſubjects in the world, became, almoſt in a literal ſenſe, the fire-brands of their country. They were too ſucceſſfully ſeconded by the pope's nuncio or embaffador; for, while the parliament was fitting, the king and the three eſtates were prevailed on to promiſe to continue their due obedience to the holy ſee, and to execute the laws for the extirpation of hereſy. The five years truce between England and Scotland was now almoſt expired, and 1533.
Affairs of
England. hoſti-

A. D. 1533. hostilities had re-commenced upon the borders. Who the aggressors were, is uncertain; but I think there can scarcely be a doubt, that the clergy prevailed with James to encourage the native animosities between the two nations upon the borders; and Lesley is of opinion that they were the true causes of the hostilities which ensued. The French king, though his connections with Henry still continued, was not unwilling that the two nations should be at variance; and Henry persisted in soliciting the restitution of the earl of Angus and his friends to their estates and honours, to which James had always given a resolute negative. Henry had granted the earl of Angus and his brother large pensions, which he was willing to be eased of; and he winked at their endeavouring to avail themselves of their family-interest on the borders, in giving all the disturbance they could to the government of Scotland. Though those hostilities could not be made a national quarrel, because, by the late treaty, they were to be terminated by the border-laws, yet the Scots did not fail to complain of them, and were very free in their reprisals; so that Sir Andrew Darcy was this year sent down, with three hundred men, to reinforce the garrison of Berwic, which, according to a proclamation emitted by Henry, had been threatened and insulted by the Scots. If we may believe Buchanan, there was no truth in the
alle-

A. D. 1533.

allegations of this proclamation; and the English court insisted upon being put in possession of the little village and monastery of Cannaby upon the borders, which they pretended belonged to them. The same historian is likewise of opinion, that Henry was encouraged to rise in his demands upon James, particularly with regard to the restitution of the Douglasses, because he knew that Francis durst not, at that time, venture to disoblige him.

Hostilities
break out.

Whatever truth there may be in Buchanan's conjecture, it is certain that, this year, mutual hostilities commenced between the two nations, both by sea and land. A detachment from the garrison of Berwic, under Darcy, burnt Coldingham and Dunglas, with other places upon the borders, and ravaged the country as far as Duns: nor were the earl of Angus and his friends idle in other parts; and several Scotch vessels were made prizes of by sea. To repel those invasions, the Scots made some inroads into England, and burnt several villages in Northumberland, from whence they carried off a considerable booty. The English and the Douglasses, however, had the advantage in this predatory war; and James thought proper to nominate his natural brother, the earl of Murray, to be his warden upon the borders, and commander in chief of his army. Orders were given, that the kingdom should be formed into four divisions, each of which was to send an

A. D. 1533. an army of men, with provisions for forty days, against the English, and to relieve one another in their turns. This proved to be an excellent expedient, as it kept up a constant succession of force against their enemies, who were now driven back to Berwic. As Henry was far from inclining to come to extremities with James, and as he had failed in his attempt to bring him into his terms, he shewed dispositions for an accommodation, under the mediation of the French king, who sent an ambassador, one D'Aix, for that purpose into Scotland. James accordingly nominated as his commissioners Sir James Colville and Adam Otterburn, on the nineteenth of June. Henry, on the fourteenth of the same month, commissioned Sir Thomas Clifford, governor of Berwic, Sir Ralph Ellerker, Sir Thomas Wharton, and Mr. Thomas Magnus, to confer with the Scotch plenipotentiaries at Newcastle. This negotiation proved intricate and difficult, so widely did the commissioners on both sides differ in their facts; but at last a truce was concluded for a year, which was to commence from the first of October; and all hostilities which had been committed since the meeting of the commissioners were to be determined according to the border-laws.

Rymer,
vol. XIV.
p. 480.

A treaty,

The last-mentioned provision was, in fact, a defeazance of the truce, as it gave the Douglasses a handle, in the mean time, for seizing the
the

the castle of Errington; but, in the spring of the year 1534, the bishop of Aberdeen and Sir Adam Otterburn were sent to England, with full powers either to renew the perpetual peace, or to conclude a long truce. On the twelfth of April following, Henry commissioned Sir Thomas Audley, lord chancellor of England, Thomas Cromwell, Esq; first secretary of state, Edward Fox, almoner, Dr. John Trigunwell, chief judge of the admiralty, and Richard Gwent, to confer with the Scotch plenipotentiaries. Upon the eleventh of May, they agreed upon a treaty, the chief articles of which were, "That there shall be an inviolable peace between the two kingdoms, during the lives of the two sovereigns, and a year after the decease of him who shall first die: that neither king shall, directly or indirectly, assist or favour, or allow his subjects to assist or favour, upon any pretence, any person or persons whatever, spiritual or temporal, of whatever condition, though never so near allied to either of the sovereigns, in invading the territories of the other, notwithstanding any former or future contracts to the contrary; provided always, that the ancient league of the kings of Scotland and of England with his most Christian majesty be excepted: that no former or future ecclesiastical censure or dispensation, granted, or to be granted, shall absolve either of the princes from the observance of this per-

A.D. 1534. petual peace, as each king shall swear, within three months, before witnesses." The allies comprehended by both kings in this treaty were, the emperor, the king of France, the king of the Romans, the dukes of Gueldres, Lorrain, Cleves, and the Hanse-towns. Those specified by James were, the king of Denmark and the marquis of Brandenburg; and those by Henry were, the king of Hungary, the dukes of Pomerania, Saxony, Bavaria, the landgrave of Hesse, with the cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, provided the allies nominated by both should signify their assent to their being comprehended in six months. By the same treaty, that of Berwic was renewed and confirmed; and, by particular conventions, Errington-castle and its dependencies were restored to James, who agreed that Henry should support, as his lawful subjects, the earl of Angus, Sir George his brother, and Archibald his uncle; provided always, that reparation was made, according to the border-laws, for any attempt which either he or they may enterprize against Scotland.

advan-
tageous to
James.

This treaty was concluded at a time when the friendship of James was of the utmost consequence to all the European powers. It was considered as being extremely honourable and advantageous for James, while, at the same time, Henry thought he could not buy his friendship too dear; and appointed the lord William

A. D. 1534.

William Howard, immediately upon the conclusion of the peace, to carry the order of the garter to James, and to give him his option of two proposals. The first was, that he should be present at an interview between Henry and Francis at Calais; and the other, that he should meet Henry at York; but the evil genius of James, in the person of his clergy, flattered him with other views. They had inspired him with such an aversion to Henry, after his withdrawing his obedience from the pope, that it shook his friendship even for the French king, because of his connections with England. He had sent ambassadors to France, complaining of Henry; and not meeting with a very favourable reception, he had reproached Francis, in pretty sharp terms, for such a mark of his disrespect. His clergy, willing to improve every accident (let it cost the nation ever so dear) that could widen the breach with England, disposed James to listen to the pope and the emperor's proposals, which were laid before him by Goddeschalco Errico, and contained all that could feed his vanity, or fire his ambition. Before that minister's arrival in Scotland, James had entered into some measures with the papal nuncio, which gave the latter strong reasons to believe that he would declare himself in favour of the emperor. The earl of Bothwell, a profest enemy to the clergy, had come to the knowledge of those engagements, and had imparted his suspicions to the earl of Northumberland,

A.D. 1534.

Proceedings
with France.

for which, upon his return from England, he was a second time committed to prison; but afterwards ordered to reside in the North of Scotland. Henry complained bitterly to Francis of this proceeding of James, whom he called the most determined of all his enemies; but Francis undertook to soften him. He threw out to James a bait in the person of his daughter, whom he proposed to him as a wife; and that alliance had been strongly recommended by the duke of Albany, who was still living in France, where he continued to serve James with unabated affection; and it was owing to his good offices that James had been induced to set on foot the late treaty.

Matches
proposed for
James.

Such was the situation of James, when the Imperial ambassador, after executing a private commission in Ireland, arrived in Scotland, and presented, in the name of his master, the order of the golden fleece to James, who had been already invested with that of St. Michael by Francis; so that he was now knight of the three greatest orders in Christendom; an honour which no other sovereign but himself possessed. Errico then opened the contents of his commission. He began with the most solemn offers of friendship on the part of his master. He next painted, in the most hideous colours, the divorce between Henry and his queen Catharine, in defiance of the papal power; his adulterous marriage with Anne Bullen; and the danger that threatened the succession
of

of James to the crown of England. He concluded by offering him his choice of three wives; Mary of Austria, the emperor's sister, and widow of Lewis king of Hungary; Mary of Portugal, the daughter of his sister Eleonora of Austria; Mary of England, the daughter of Catharine and king Henry.

A. D. 1534.

Nothing could be more dazzling in the eyes of a young prince than those matches, by far the most illustrious in Europe, the two former being celebrated beauties, as well as possessed of immense fortunes. Another condition, however, was annexed to this proposal, that, to suppress the heresies of the time, James would concur with the emperor for the convocating a general council, and obviating the calamities then threatening the Christian religion. Those proposals would have met with a more ready acceptance from James, had not his clergy, at this time, been disgusted with Charles, for allowing too great a latitude to the protestants of Germany. James, in his answer, returned the emperor his acknowledgments, in the most polite terms, for the splendid alliances he had offered him. He touched upon the proposal of the council as being a measure rather to be wished for than hoped, because it ought to be free and holy, and upon the model of the first councils; its members consisting of the most charitable, quiet, and disinterested part of the clergy. He said, that if such a council could be

Negotiations with the emperor.

be

A. D. 1534.

be obtained, he would willingly send ecclesiastics to it; but if not, that every prince ought to reform the errors of doctrine, and the faults of the clergy, within his own dominions. He bewailed the obstinate conduct of his uncle in his divorce and marriage; and offered his best offices for effecting a reconciliation between him and the emperor, wishing that all the princes of Christendom would unite their arms against their common enemy, the Turks. He hinted, very justly, that his Imperial majesty had offered more than he could perform, because his cousin, Mary of England, was not at his disposal. The ambassador replied, that his master, if persuasions failed, would compel Henry, by force of arms, to resign her. James answered this ridiculous declaration by observing, that the emperor then would be guilty of a breach of all laws, both divine and human; that it would be impolitic to give a preference to any of the three princesses, all of them being so illustrious and deserving; but, to shew how much he valued an alliance with his Imperial majesty, he would become a suppliant to that prince for his niece, daughter to Christiern king of Denmark, to become his bride. The ambassador's answer to this unexpected request was, that she was already betrothed to the count palatine, and that, before that time, the marriage was probably consummated.

Buchanan,

Buchanan, who was, at this time, about the court of Scotland, and is an author whose evidence cannot be thought partial in favour of James, has drawn a very extraordinary picture of that prince on this occasion. He represents him as being so brave and daring in his person, that, flighting all dangers, he would attack and break the most formidable band of thieves with inferior numbers; that he would sit on horseback for twenty-four hours without intermission, satisfying the calls of nature with the meanest food that was at hand; that robbers seldom escaped his activity, and were often terrified into submission by the dread of his name. Old traditions, private manuscripts, and family papers, are full of anecdotes confirming this character of James; and mention many adventures he fell into (some of them full of spirit and humour) while he was travelling the country, as he often did, in disguise, that he might know the dispositions, and redress the grievances, of his subjects. That elegant writer very pertinently introduces this character of James at the period I am now describing. He says, that his intrepidity, and the dangers he daily underwent, opened a most flattering prospect to the Hamilton family, of their succeeding to the crown by his dying without issue. He even hints, that James was in danger from their practices, during the nocturnal pursuits of his amours, to which he was greatly addicted,

A. D. 1534.
Character
of James.

A. D. 1534. addicted, when attended only by one or two followers; but in this last insinuation, the historian appears to have been too much influenced by his prepossessions against the Hamilton family.

Views of
the Hamil-
tons.

The latter were no favourites with the clergy, who, no doubt, laid before James the duty he was under to continue his family in his own person, about which he was now very earnest. The duke of Albany, at the time the antient league between the two kingdoms was renewed at Rochelle, had mentioned a match between the eldest daughter of Francis with James, which the French king was far from discouraging; but that princess was now dead, and as James was determined to have a French bride, he ordered his ambassadors in France to demand Magdalen, the remaining daughter of Francis, in marriage; but Francis evaded the proposal, by pretending that the princess was of too weakly a constitution to become a wife. The abbot of Arbroath, then one of James's ambassadors in France, was by him ordered to give him some account of Mary of Vendosme, whom Francis had recommended to him for a wife. The abbot, whose name was Beaton, performed his commission very honestly, and advised James, by all means, to marry her; informing him, at the same time, that the pope and the emperor intended only to make him the instrument of their resentment against his uncle.

Henry's

Henry's ambassador, the lord William Howard, was still at the court of Scotland, where the furious clergy were daily burning those of the reformed religion; and so effectually had they quieted the conscience of James, that, instead of shewing any reluctance at their infernal cruelties, he encouraged them. I have seen an original dispatch under Henry's hand, that contained secret instructions for Howard, to observe narrowly the most minute circumstance relating to the person and court of James, and likewise Howard's answer, which is long, and very particular; but affords little matter of any consequence, other than that he and his train were lodged in Edinburgh, and entertained at the expence of James, whose household and manner of living was sumptuous. Pope Paul the third, who succeeded Clement the seventh, being afraid of the impressions which Howard might make upon James, sent John Antonio Campeggio, as his nuncio, to Scotland, to keep him firm in his obedience to the Holy church. The legate found James at Falkland, and presented him with the bulls which his holiness had lately drawn up against Henry, and which were communicated only to a chosen few, of whom James stood at the head. Germany, France, Swisserland, Bohemia, Poland, and all the northern kingdom, were so equally divided by their religious factions, that their sovereigns, however well affected they might be to the

A. D. 1534.
James court-
ed by other
powers, and
the pope.

A. D. 1534.

Drummond.

court of Rome, durst not exert their power in effectually crushing the Reformers. James was under no constraint of that kind. Being supported by a numerous and wealthy clergy, he fearlessly and severely punished the very appearance of any attempt to introduce the Reformation into his country; and the emperor, who was to have been entrusted with the execution of the papal bulls, being then engaged in his African expedition, his holiness thought that James was the surest ally he could depend on. On the twenty-second of February, the legate presented him, at Falkland, with a "cap and a sword, consecrated the night of the nativity of our Saviour, which the fame of his valour, and many Christian virtues, had moved his master to remunerate him with; also, (saith the original) that it might breed a terror in the heart of a wicked neighbouring prince, against whom the sword was sharpened. The pope's letter, in most submissive stile, contained a complaint for the death of John, bishop and cardinal, of Rochester, miserably taken away by the hand of an hangman; the calamities of England, occasioned by the king's divorce from Catharine of Spain, and his marriage with Anne Bullen; that since the Roman church had received great disgrace, and a deadly wound, and, by patience, procured more and more wrongs from the king of England; she was constrained to use a searing-iron. For the application of which,

which, ſhe had recourſe to his majeſty, a prince for his anceſtor's piety, and his own, renowned. His aid, maintenance, protection, ſhe implored; ſince king Henry was a deſpiſer, a ſcorner; one who ſet at nought the cenſures of the church; an heretic, ſchiſmatic; a ſhameful, and ſhameleſs adulterer; a public and profeſt homicide, murtherer; a ſacrilegious perſon, a church-robber; a rebel guilty of leſe-majeſty divine, outrageous; many and innumerable ways a felon, a criminal; by all laws therefore juſtly to be turned out of his throne; the king of Scotland, for the defence of the church, would undertake ſomething worthy a Chriſtian king and himſelf: he would endeavour to ſuppreſs hereſy, defend the Catholic faith againſt thoſe whom the juſtice of Almighty God, and judgments, were now prepared, and already ready to be denounced."

The anſwer of James to this outrageous letter, was dictated by churchmen. He bewailed the apoſtacy and obſtinacy of his uncle; and that a prince who had ſo lately obtained the glorious title of Defender of the Faith, ſhould, as it were, throw himſelf out of the pale of the church. He promiſed to leave no means untried to reclaim him, and that he would even give him a meeting face to face for that purpoſe. He mentioned the inſtructions he had given his ambaffadors, and the letters he had already written to Henry, on the ſame head;

Affairs of
Europe.

A. D. 1534.

and desired the legate not to be too hasty in his proceedings against his uncle, till he should know the effects of his application. From the latter part of this answer, it appears to have been the opinion of James and his clergy, as it was indeed of all Europe, that Henry was yet reclaimable to the church of Rome, if his holiness would gratify him in certain points; and in this they were confirmed by the French king. That prince had actually obtained leave from Henry, to make some healing proposals, in a conference he had with his holiness at Marfeilles. Henry, however, seems to have disowned any commission of that kind, and continued his severities against the English Roman catholicks. Francis, who depended greatly upon the pope, for succeeding in a new expedition he had undertaken against Milan, upbraided Henry for those severities; though he himself, but a few days before, had ordered six heretics to be burnt at Paris. Henry returned a very sharp answer to the French king's remonstrances, which occasioned some reconciling advances, on both sides, between Francis and the emperor Charles the fifth. The latter not only offered the investiture of the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans, but the princess Mary of England in marriage to the dauphin, if he would break with Henry, and withdraw his protection from the protestants of Germany. Francis ordered those proposals to be communi-
cated

A. D. 1535.

cated to Henry, who treated the first with ridicule, and the latter with disregard. He observed that the princess was his, and not the emperor's, daughter; and that the proposal about the investiture of Milan, was only with a view to make a breach between himself and Francis. Without entering too far into the history of the English Reformation, it is certain that Henry, at this very time, was disposed to have made great concessions to his holiness, if Francis could have made him certain that the pope would revoke his censures; and, at the same time, continue the pension which he was engaged to pay to England.

The affairs of Francis, who was then at the head of the German protestants, were in so promising a situation, that Henry thought he paid him too little attention; and therefore he redoubled his endeavours to make his nephew, the king of Scotland, his friend; but Francis was too well apprised of James's sentiments, to be under any uneasiness on that head. The pope had privately issued five several bulls against Henry, absolving his subjects from their obedience, his confederates from their alliances, bastardizing the issue of his second marriage, depriving him of his crown, and ordering his nobility to take arms against him. Those bulls were to be reserved till it was known what turn the affairs of the emperor would take in Germany; but their contents were known both
to

James guided by his clergy.

A. D. 1535. to Francis and James, and his holiness made it no secret that he intended to bestow Henry's crown on another prince; and Francis flattered James that he was to be the man. He was seconded by the Scotch clergy; and Henry entertained the utmost disquietudes on that account. He sent his chaplain, Dr. Barnwell, elect bishop of St. Asaph, and Thomas Holcroft, another casuist, to Scotland, well furnished with books, authorities, and evidences, for confuting the pope's supremacy in civil matters, and justifying his own proceedings in throwing off the pope's authority, exhorting James, at the same time, to follow his example. James was too great a bigot to pay any regard to this embassy; and Henry ordered the lord William Howard to return to Scotland, but he was first to propose a marriage between James and Henry's daughter; (but whether the princess Mary, or Elizabeth, does not clearly appear) and that he should have an interview with James, whom he proposed to create duke of York, and lieutenant of his kingdom. James and his counsellors were startled by the vast advantages resulting from those proposals; but they were over-ruled by the clergy. They opposed the interview, which was to be at York, on account of the danger that James must run in a country where his predecessor, James the first, had been so treacherously surpris'd, and so long detained. As to the princess Mary, she had been

Drummond.

been declared illegitimate, and the princess Elizabeth was too young for marriage. After all our historians have said, I am apt to believe that they are ill founded, as to Howard's instructions concerning the marriage. I am of opinion, that if James would have agreed to Henry's proposals without any reserve, he would have declared him heir to the crown of England in preference to both his daughters, whose legitimacy, at this time, was extremely questionable.

Whatever may be in this, the proposal for an interview was strongly debated in James's council, where a majority appeared in its favour, provided it took place at Newcastle instead of York; but it was found that the lord Howard had no instructions on that head; and had it been otherwise, such was the clergy's influence, it is improbable that James would have agreed to the interview, at any rate. We are told by the best authorities, that James, finding he had no decent excuse for putting off a meeting with his uncle, privately solicited the pope to send him a brief, prohibiting him to set his foot upon English ground. The lord Erskine was, at this time, James's ambassador at the court of England, where he had orders to make representations against some depredations that had been committed by the English shipping on the coasts of Orkney and Shetland; and, according to Drummond, to acquaint

1536.
He declines
an interview
with his
uncle.
Lord Herbert.

A. D. 1535.

A.D. 1536. quaint him with a propofal of marriage between James and the duke of Vendosme's daughter, a princefs of the French blood, for which Francis feemed to be very earneft. The lord Erskine had likewise orders to prevail with Henry, if poffible, to withdraw all affiftance from the Lubeckers, who were then at variance with the duke of Holftain.

His domestic policy.

It was eafy for the lord Howard to perceive that his negotiation muft come to nothing, when it was propofed that the interview fhould be at Newcaftle inftead of York, and the time, the Michaelmas following. He pretended that his mafter would look upon the alteration of the place as a grofs affront, as he had already expended large fums in preparing for the interview at York. He threw out fome reflections, and even menaces, againft the whole body of the council; and, at laft, departed without taking leave. James, unwilling to difoblige his uncle, difpatched Sir Adam Otterburn, one of his moft experienced negotiators, to make his apology to Henry on account of the interview, and to lay the blame of its mifcarriage upon the haughty behaviour and violent temper of the lord Howard, who had connections with the Douglaſſes (a party of whom, headed by Sir George, had eſcorted him to the frontiers of Scotland) and other difaffected perfons in that country. A parliament was then fitting at Edinburgh, which gave the finishing blow to Henry's

Henry's expectations from James; for it was there enacted that the antient worship should be continued, that the church's immunities should be preserved, and her enemies (meaning the Reformed) severely punished. The interior police of Scotland seems, about this time, to have been in great disorder. The late king was more attentive to the magnificence of his court, than the improvement of his kingdom; and the feudal aristocracies were again revived in Scotland, among some of the great landholders. The nation, in general, disliked that system, and the members of this parliament applied themselves vigorously to encourage the spirit of commerce and industry among their fellow-subjects. Many excellent laws which had fallen into disuse, were now revived, particularly for the building of fishing-busses, and for the planting and preservation of woods, forests, hedges, the breeding of horses, and the suppression of masterful and strong beggars (as they are called by the act); each parish being ordered to keep its own poor. In short, all the excellent regulations which had been established in the parliaments under James the second, and third, were now renewed and reinforced. Among other regulations which took place, was an act that no man should, by himself or others, sell, to the English, sheep or black-cattle, young or old; nor send into England victuals, fish, or salt, under pain of confiscation

THE HISTORY

Black Acts,
c. 22.Tranquil-
lity of the
borders.

cation of moveables. Though the reason given in the record for this act is, to prevent the furnishing of the borders by thieves and disorderly persons, yet I am apt to suspect that it took its rise from the practices of the clergy, joined to James's innate prepossessions against the English. The former wanted to cut off all commerce and correspondence between the Scots and Henry's subjects; and it was easy for them to colour the interdict with the pretence of public good. In the same parliament it was enacted, "That all who had, or pretended to inheritance, or leises of forestry, were commanded to bring their rights before the lords of the council to be examined; and none of their sheep, cattle, or horses, were to pasture in his forests or parks, under pain of losing them." Private gentlemen who had forests or parks, were entitled to the same privileges with the king.

James was equally vigorous in executing, as his parliament was in enacting, those statutes; and, at last, he brought his borders towards England into so great a state of tranquillity, that he thought he might, without endangering the public peace, pay a visit to the northern and western parts of his dominions, where the people continued still tumultuous and uncivilized. Having provided five well manned ships, with an excellent pilot, one Alexander Lindsay, he gave out that he

intended to sail to France, where it was well known he had embassadors negotiating a treaty of marriage. He was attended by the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Arran, and other noblemen, whom, very possibly, he did not think proper to leave behind him ; and ordering the course of his vessels to be immediately altered, he landed on one of the islands of Orkney, from whence he proceeded to the Hebrides or Western islands; and, wherever he came, he held courts of justice for rectifying all abuses, and punishing delinquents. As the inhabitants had been disloyal chiefly through ignorance, his sudden arrival awed them into an entire submission to his will ; and, to strike them with the greater terror, he not only re-annexed to his crown such parts of their lands which had been alienated from it, but ordered their chiefs to be arrested and brought prisoners before him ; “ such (says Pitfcottie) as Mudyart, Macconnel, Macloyd of the Lewis, Macniel, Maclame, Mackintosh, John Mudyart, Mackay, Mackenzie, with many others that I cannot rehearse.” He carried all those chiefs with him to the southern parts of his dominions, where he imprisoned some, and took sureties from others for their good behaviour, and a few of them were dismissed in freedom ; but James, by undertaking this expedition, which was founded upon the best principles of policy, had another noble purpose in view, and that was, to take charts

James
visits the
islands.

A. D. 1536.

A. D. 1536.

of his sea-coasts, which was done with great accuracy; and they were published at Paris in the year 1686.

His strict
justice.

James having thus restored the northern and western parts of his dominions, returned to Edinburgh, where he found that some disorders had been committed, during his absence, on the borders. Without taking any trouble about the common people, he ordered their leaders to be apprehended; it being his constant maxim, that the inferior people never committed hostilities upon the borders, but at the instigation, or by the permission, of their superiors. Walter Scot of Buccleugh was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, the lord Hume to that of Down, Farnherst to Falkland; and the laird of Johnston, with Mark Ker, were confined within the town of Dundee, all of them to remain prisoners during the king's pleasure. Those commitments so entirely re-established the tranquillity of the borders, that the royal revenues there were raised without any diminution. Lindsay, as a proof of this, mentions, that James had ten thousand sheep feeding in the forest of Etric, and that they turned out to as good account as if they had "gone in the bounds of Fife." Lindsay tells us, at the same time, that the earl of Bothwell, the master (that is, the eldest son) of lord Semple, and the laird of Drumlanerick, with several others, were banished the kingdom.

dom for certain crimes of lese-majesty, but without specifying what they were. As James, at this time, behaved with a very high hand towards his nobles, it is very possible that the only crime of those delinquents was their being possessed of too great a power and property in the southern part of the kingdom, to be trusted at home while he was absent on another expedition he was now undertaking. A. D. 1536.

The French court was, at this time, filled with Scotch nobility. Mention is made of the earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, Errol, Murray, Lenox, Cassils, the lords Erskine, Fleming, and Boyd, who were already at Paris; but I cannot help thinking that James was not, as yet, fixed in the object of his courtship. The emperor, Charles the fifth, was still at war with France, and made James the most tempting offers to engage him to break off his connections with the French king. Though James could not be persuaded to this, yet he complained bitterly of Francis for his attachment to Henry; and, indeed, his complaints of that prince were far better founded than they had been before. The arbitrary manner in which Henry treated his parliament, and all his subjects, without distinction, is well known; and likewise the violent, but perhaps necessary, measures he pursued in establishing the Reformation. He had divorced one wife, Catharine of Arragon, and beheaded another, Anne Bullen;

State of
England.

A.D. 1536.

len; and, this year, he summoned a parliament, which left him at liberty to settle the succession, in case he had no heirs of his own body, in what manner he pleased. James very justly considered that act as a direct invasion of his right, as, failing the legitimate progeny of Henry's body, he was undoubted heir to the crown of England. He ordered the earl of Murray and the bishop of Aberdeen, who were going to France, to stop at the English court, and to lay before Henry his complaints; and, at the same time, to inform him, that he was resolved to marry a French princess. The same act of parliament which had empowered Henry to limit the succession, had bastardized his two daughters, the princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and had given Henry a power to advance any person of his royal blood to any title, estate, dignity, or honour, that he thought proper; and this clause seems evidently intended to bring James into Henry's measures, as it was now certainly in his power to make him duke of York, and regent of his kingdom. Henry insisted with the two Scotch ambassadors upon the interview he had formerly proposed to have with his nephew; but they had no instructions on that head; tho' Henry offered to agree to James marrying the duke of Vendôme's daughter, provided James would give him a meeting. Nothing but the pernicious influence of the clergy could have defeated

Henry demands a meeting with James.

feated a propofal fo reasonable in itfelf, as well as advantageous to James. The latter, however, feems to have been not a little affected, at this time, with the proceedings of Henry, by which he had raifed fuch an immense revenue to himfelf, out of the fpoils of the church. Some of the moft moderate of his clergy, forefeeing, no doubt, a like downfal of their order in Scotland, fought to prevent it, by advifing James to apply to the pope for powers to reform certain enormities that had crept into the church, and to refume fome of the large grants which it had obtained, to the great prejudice of the crown. According to lord Herbert, this request of James was fo pleafing to Henry, that he granted a fave-conduct to carry James's meffenger to Rome.

In the mean time, James, having fettled every thing for the due adminiftration of juftice in his abfence, and appointed the earls of Huntley and Eglinton to be the heads of the regency, fet fail, with a well equipped fleet, for France. There is ftrong reason to believe, that fome of the chief men who accompanied him in this expedition, were averfe to the voyage, and determined, at all events, to prevent it. It is agreed, that, being for fome time at fea, his fhip was put back while he was afleep; and, when he awaked, he found himfelf in the river of Forth. Buchanan, Drummond, and fome other hiftorians, give us reason to believe,

His voyage
to France.

A.D. 1536.

lieve, that when he set sail, he gave out that his voyage was intended for England, that he might come to a good understanding with his uncle; and this indeed seems to have been the pretext. We are told, that when the storm began, his pilot asked him to what coast he should direct his course; and that the king's answer was, "To that of any country, friend, excepting England." Lindsay makes no mention of the storm, but admits that his ship was put back while he was asleep. Finding where he was, it was with difficulty he was prevented from ordering the pilot to be immediately hanged; but he never could forgive Sir James Douglas, and the other partizans of England, for prevailing with the pilot to alter his course.

His court-
ships,

In August, his fleet was re-equipped; but many of his nobility had, by this time, returned to Scotland, being disappointed of meeting with him in France. He ordered his council to assemble at Edinburgh, where he acquainted them with the reasons of his return, and threatened the authors of it with condign punishment at a proper time; declaring likewise, that he was resolved to resume his voyage, and ordering his principal nobility, whom he knew to be well affected to France, to attend him thither. He then dismissed the assembly, and embarking on board his ships, which were lying off the coast of Fife, he set sail for France, and landed at Dieppe in Normandy. Some
Eng-

English writers pretend, that James, at this time, raised an army of sixteen thousand men to the assistance of Francis, whose kingdom was, at this time, invaded by the emperor. That James might raise such an army is very probable, and no doubt great numbers of his subjects were then in the French service; but so considerable a reinforcement, had it arrived in France, must have been particularly mentioned in the histories of that kingdom. We are to observe besides, that James, before his arrival in France, was upon an excellent footing with the emperor; and Sir John Campbell of Loudon, with the famous Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, were then residing at the Imperial court, treating of a marriage between James and a princess of the house of Austria.

This last circumstance is a fresh instance of the unsteadiness of James in his courtship; for he was, by this time, actually contracted, by his embassadors, to Mary of Bourbon, daughter to the duke of Vendosme; but this contract must have only been conditional, for it does not appear that James had ever empowered them to do any thing decisive as to his marriage. When his ships arrived off Dieppe, the inhabitants thought they were enemies, till they saw the red lion upon the flags. Upon his landing at Dieppe, he is said to have disguised himself as a domestic to John Tennant, one of his train, and to have taken post for Ven-

A. D. 1536.
Drummond.

dosme, where, some historians pretend, (tho' Lesly, who was well informed, seems to have been of a different opinion) that his intended bride discovered him by his picture, which had been presented to her. Lindsay says, that he was entertained for some days by the duke of Vendosme. Those facts are very irreconcilable to the established rule of politeness or good manners among princes, if the marriage articles with the princess of Bourbon had been actually signed; especially as James left the duke of Vendosme's palace without making any advances to the lady, and addressed himself immediately to another.

and amorous
ventures.

Upon the whole, I must be of opinion, that if the marriage treaty was actually signed, the ambassadors either exceeded their powers, or that it was done conditionally, so as to leave James at liberty either to advance or recede, as he pleased. When he left Scotland, it appears from all circumstances, that though he was undetermined as to the choice of a wife, yet he still had a predilection for the eldest daughter of the French king; and that his journey to Vendosme was only intended to satisfy himself whether he could love the person of the princess. We know of no complaint or expostulation entered into by the father or friends of the princess, on account of any breach of contract by James; and therefore we may fairly conclude, that the conduct of James

James (whatever that of his embassadors might have been) was irreproachable. A.D. 153

When James landed in France, a battle between Francis and the emperor Charles the fifth, who had invaded that kingdom, was every day expected; and we are told, that James, when he left Vendosme, rode post haste, that he might be present in the engagement; but the affairs of France took an unexpected turn. Though Charles had succeeded in destroying all the confidence which the German protestants had in Francis, and even in debauching some of the great French generals from their duty; though he had invaded France, at different quarters, with two armies, which were thought to be irresistible, the one commanded by himself, the other by the count of Nassau; and though he had laid siege to Mar-seilles, yet the French were so firmly united, that, before James joined the French court, the emperor was obliged to raise the siege, after losing half his men, and to make a disgraceful retreat out of France. Francis was agreeably surprised to hear of the arrival of James, and of his zeal in his service. He ordered the Dauphin (who had acquired great reputation in the late campaign against the emperor) to meet him on the road; which he did at the chapel between Tarray and St. Saphorin, in the Lion-nois. The meeting between James and the Dauphin was full of reciprocal affection; and

He meets
with the
French
king,

A.D. 1536. no mark of regard or magnificence was omitted, that could testify the high sense of Francis for the honour done him by the king of Scotland. As James, for expedition sake, was attended by a slender train, he and the dauphin travelled with such speed, that they surprised Francis in the morning; and James was introduced to him in his bed-chamber, where Francis, who had lately lost his eldest son, thanked God that he had sent the king of Scotland to supply his place. After James had reposed himself and his attendants for some days, orders were given by Francis for proceeding to Paris, to which city James was escorted with regal magnificence.

whose
laughter he
courts,

However great, and indeed unaffected, the demonstrations of joy which Francis expressed at this time might be, he was not a little embarrassed when James, after being introduced to the royal family, made a demand of the princess Magdalen, his eldest daughter, for his wife. He knew how earnestly Henry the eighth had always opposed that match, and that his not agreeing to it had been stipulated as one of the terms of his good understanding with England. He pleaded his daughter's tender constitution, and appealed to the physicians for her not being likely to have children; and, at the same time, warmly pressed the match between James and the princess of Vendosme; but all to no purpose. James pretended that
he

he was passionately in love with the princess A. D. 1535.
 Magdalen; and she herself discovered a particular satisfaction while he addressed her. The affair was debated in the French council; and, notwithstanding all the opposition made by the English party there, Francis thought the friendship of James of so much importance to his crown, that he consented to the match. The marriage articles were then settled; and it was stipulated (according to Drummond) that James should receive for her marriage portion an hundred thousand crowns of the sun, besides a yearly pension of thirty thousand francs during life; while she was to be entitled to as ample a jointure as ever had been enjoyed by any of the queens of Scotland.

No sooner was this marriage treaty finished, and married,
 than James invited the chief nobility he had left in Scotland to attend his nuptials, which were performed in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, on the first of January this year, in 1537.
 the presence of the kings of France and Navarre, seven cardinals, and a prodigious number of persons of the highest distinction. Some of the French memoir writers and historians have described the ceremony, and the celebrities attending it, as being extremely magnificent. Among other particulars, served in the way of desert at the marriage feast, mention is made of a number of covered cups, filled with pieces of gold and gold-dust, the native product of
Scot.

A.D. 1537. Scotland, which James generously distributed among the guests *. The reader will find in the notes a list of the magnificent presents made by Francis to his son-in-law, James, on this occasion; and as it never has (so far as I know) been printed, may be esteemed a curiosity †. Francis, though the most magnifi-

* This gold was found in the mines of Crawford-Moor, which were then worked by Germans.

† "Take this insewing list of the giftes and propynes which king James the fifth received himselve from the Frenche king, att his returne home, as I find them on recorde.

"Imprimis, All his charges and expenses borne gratis, from the day he landit in France, till the houre he departed out of it.

"Item, Two great shipes of burden loadit with pouder and all sortes of ammunitiōe for the warres.

"Item, Two gallant shipes of warre, with their ordinance and haill outrigge.

"Item, Twenty-six pices of greate brasse ordinance for batterey.

"Item, Thirty small pices of brasse for the feild.

"Item, His toucher (his wife's fortune) payed in ready money.

"Item, Four suites of riche arras hangings, of eight pices a suite, wrought with gold and silver.

"Item, Four suites of hangings of cloth of gold and silver, impaled with velvit.

"Item, Eight suites of coarser arras, ret verey good.

"Item, Three cloathes of staite, very riche, and of excellent worke.

"Item, Three riche bedds, with all their furniture of silk and gold.

"Item, A large cupeboard of plate, all overgilt, and curiously wrought.

"Item, Aneuther cupeboard of silver plate ungilded; these cupeboards esteemed to one hundred thousand crownes.

"Item, Sixtene riche table-cloathes of all sortes.

"Item, Twenty Persiane carpetts, faire and large."

Balfour's Annals MSS.

cent prince then upon the continent, out-did A.D. 1537.
 himself in his generosity to James; and James,
 by his noble qualities, particularly his address
 in arms, exceeded all the expectations the
 French had conceived of his warlike accom-
 plishments. The state of affairs in Scotland re-
 quiring its king's presence, about the begin-
 ning of May, James and his attendants (among
 whom were many of the chief French nobility)
 embarked for Scotland in fifty ships, under
 convoy of four large ships of war, and landed
 on the twenty-eighth of May at Leith. The
 joy with which the Scots received their queen
 was inexpressible, it being generally thought
 that she favoured the Reformation, and had
 privately received a protestant education under
 the queen of Navarre. From Leith the royal
 cavalcade proceeded to the palace of Holyrood-
 house, from whence proclamations were issued
 for extraordinary rejoicings all over the king-
 dom; but, in the mean time, the young queen
 (who had been in a very indifferent state of
 health when she left France) sickened, and died Her death.
 of a fever on the twenty-second of July. We
 are now to review the state of Scotland during
 the absence of James in France.

The queen-dowager of Scotland continued Rebellion
in England.
 to reside sometimes in Scotland, and sometimes
 in England, with the lady Margaret Douglas,
 her daughter by the earl of Angus. The lady
 Margaret was courted by the lord Thomas
 Howard,

A.D. 1537. Howard, who was favourably received; and the courtship coming to Henry's knowledge, the lovers were imprifoned in the Tower, and a statute was made in parliament, declaring it to be high-treason for any subject to presume to marry in the next degrees of royal blood, without the king's licence. Lord Thomas was attainted of high-treason on certain circumstances, which, under a prince less despotic than Henry, would have been thought frivolous. The queen-dowager pressed her brother, in the most earnest manner, for her daughter's liberty; but was unable to obtain it till after the death of lord Thomas. It is uncertain what part James took in resenting his uterine sister's imprifonment; but a rebellion which now broke out in Lincolnshire, and communicated itself to the very borders of Scotland, threatened Henry with the very worst consequences. It was occasioned by that prince's violent proceedings in matters of religion; and the rough manner in which he treated the insurgents gave a handle to the old ecclesiastics to represent Henry as the very worst of tyrants. The rebels soon became twenty thousand strong, so that the gentlemen who were well affected to the government durst not oppose them; and the duke of Suffolk was sent down to suppress them. That duke found that he had both a difficult and a dangerous province to manage, as many gentlemen of great consequence in the country

country secretly favoured the rebels. He laid before Henry a state of the rebellion; and being reinforced by a considerable number of troops, under noblemen of the first distinction, he received orders to publish a pardon to all who would lay down their arms, and promise obedience for the future. This moderation had great effect; but the most determined of the rebels assembled in Yorkshire, intending to put themselves under the protection of James, whom they knew to be a determined enemy to the Reformation, and the person of Henry. One Aske, a Yorkshire gentleman, of some consideration in that county, undertook to head them, and actually took Pomfret-castle, which was defended by the archbishop of York, and the lord Darcy, who were made prisoners. They then marched against York, which was obliged to surrender, though bravely defended by Sir Ralph Ellerker, and Robert Bowes. As the duke of Suffolk still lay in Lincolnshire, where the rebellion was every day expected to be renewed, Aske and his party proceeded without controul; but failed in their attempts to take the castles of Skipton and Scarborough.

In this situation of things, the duke of Norfolk, who was generally thought not to be unfavourable to the cause of the rebels, was sent against them; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he prevented Doncaster from fal-

is suppressed

A.D. 1537.

ling into their hands. He acquainted Henry, that the best service he could do him would be to gain time, and divide the rebels among themselves, by soothing them in their complaints. Though this advice was not agreeable to Henry's disposition, yet he was forced to temporize; and the duke of Norfolk managed so artfully, that he persuaded the rebels to send a petition to court by the hands of Sir Ralph Ellerker and Mr. Bowes, whom they had made prisoners. Those procrastinations, and Henry's delaying to give any answer to their petition, proved effectual. The rebels were disconcerted among themselves, and defeated by the duke of Norfolk in two attempts they made to surprize Carlisle and Hull. Even those defeats did not extinguish the rebellion, so greatly did the insurgents rely upon assistance from Scotland. There is little room to doubt, that nothing but James's absence in France could have frustrated their expectations; and that the moderation of the noblemen to whom he had committed the government of his kingdom, was of great service to Henry. This appeared evidently from an incident that happened, when James was returning to Scotland with his consort. Being obliged, on some occasion, to touch on the coast of England, and to go ashore, thousands of the inhabitants threw themselves at his feet, implored his protection,

tection, and offered him their allegiance; but James was then in no situation to give them any encouragement. A.D. 1537

While James was absent in France, Sir Ralph Sadler, a shrewd and an able minister, was Henry's resident in Scotland, from whence he sent his master all the intelligence he could gather; and he was, no doubt, not a little instrumental in keeping all assistance from the English rebels during the late commotions. The accounts which Henry received of the intimate connection between France and Scotland, exasperated him to the last degree, especially when he heard that, upon the death of queen Magdalen, James had sent Beaton, abbot of Arbroath, to treat of his second marriage with a French lady, Mary of Guise, duchess-dowager of Longueville. Francis, at the time of his daughter's marriage, had foreseen Henry's displeasure, and had sent one of his ministers, Pomeray, to the court of England, to apologize for his conduct; but the impetuous Henry would not suffer the Frenchman to open his lips on that subject, though Francis, at the same time, offered him his second son, the duke of Orleans, as a husband for his daughter, the princess Mary. His resentment would have undoubtedly led him to an open breach with Francis, had it not been that his differences with the emperor, on account of the illegitimation of the princess Mary, were irreconcil-

James
courts the
duchess of
Longueville

A.D. 1537. able; so that he was obliged once more to cement his union with Francis.

Henry's beloved wife, Jane Seymour, had died in child-bed of a son, afterwards Edward the sixth; and it was necessary for Henry to have another queen. At first, he attempted to match himself with the duchess of Milan, who was niece to the emperor; but finding that to be impracticable, his haughty capricious temper pushed him upon a very unaccountable attempt, I mean that of disappointing his nephew of his intended bride; for he demanded from Francis the duchess dowager of Longueville in marriage. It was in vain for Francis to represent that she had been actually promised and contracted to his nephew, for Henry insisted upon the match. He had been at great pains to inform himself of all relating to the duchess, her person particularly; and being informed that her face was beautiful, and her person tall and stately; in short, that she suited his taste, in every respect; he reproached Francis for giving the king of Scotland the preference to the king of England, and even threw out some menaces on that head. The situation of France, with regard to the emperor, at that time, was such, that Francis equally disregarded Henry's threats as his promises, but advised him to address Mary of Bourbon, daughter to the duke of Vendosme. Henry refused to court her, because she had been rejected by James; and we are told that

as does
Henry.

that she died soon after of grief, for her first disappointment. Francis then proposed, as a wife for Henry, either of the duchess of Longueville's younger sisters, who were her equals in beauty and accomplishments; but Henry was to be satisfied with nothing less than the honour of depriving his nephew of his bride, and the negotiation went no farther.

Francis having thus discharged the duties of friendship and alliance with James, advised him to make all possible dispatch in his marriage; so as to put an end, at once, to Henry's hopes; and, at the same time, to send a fleet to bring his bride, as soon as possible, to Scotland. James followed this generous advice, and sent the earl of Murray to assist Beaton, who was likewise bishop of Mirepoix, in France, in completing the treaty, which, at last, was finished. James was married by proxy, in the month of January following; and a fleet, with two thousand men on board, of which the lord Maxwell was appointed admiral, was ordered to take the royal bride on board at New-haven, now Havre de Grace. She was attended to that place by D'Annebaut, admiral of France, who escorted her likewise to Scotland, with a considerable squadron, having many of the French nobility on board. Those precautions prove, that both James and Francis were apprehensive that Henry might make some attempt to intercept the royal bride; but nothing of that kind appeared, for she

She is
espoused to
James.

A. D. 1537.

A. D. 1537. she landed safe at Fifeness, and was conducted to James, who was then at St. Andrews to receive her. But before I take my leave of this year, I must recount two bloody scenes which happened in Scotland during its course.

Bloody executions of the Master of Forbes,

All the endeavours of the government of Scotland to suppress the animosities among the great noblemen there, had proved ineffectual in the North, where many differences still subsisted between the leading families of Gordon and Forbes. The heir of the last-mentioned house had been educated in a loose dissipated manner; and, though brave in his person, he kept low company, particularly one Strahan, a fellow of an infamous character. Forbes having refused this worthless favourite a boon, the latter attached himself to the earl of Huntly, who, as some of our historians pretend (though the fact seems to be doubtful) encouraged him in forming a charge of treason against the young man. He was accused of intending to kill the king, and restoring the Douglasses to their estates and honours. This improbable impeachment was supported by some venal evidences; and Forbes being condemned, was executed. All the favour he obtained, was his having the manner of his death converted from hanging into beheading; and upon the scaffold where he suffered, he solemnly denied his being guilty of the crimes for which he died. James, though in his own nature bloody and suspicious, easily per-

perceived that some unguarded talk, which the crown-lawyers had magnified into treason, was the young nobleman's only crime, and set his father, the lord Forbes, who had been imprisoned on his son's account, at liberty. He likewise employed a brother of the deceased in a post about his person, and banished Strahan out of the kingdom, for having so long concealed the pretended treason for which Forbes had suffered.

A. D. 1537.

The execution of Forbes, however unjust, was founded on some colour of law; but another happened, a few days after, so inhuman and bloody, that it would have stained the annals of the most despotic tyrants. The earl of Angus, finding that James was deaf to all solicitations, even those of foreign princes, for his being restored to his estate and honours, continued to commit many disorders upon the borders, at which Henry winked, alledging, in the language of his predecessors, that he could not prevent a nobleman from endeavouring to do himself justice upon his enemies, and recovering his own possessions. The same prejudices that had brought the unfortunate Forbes to the block, operated against the dowager lady Glamis, who was sister to Angus, and who had been courted by one Lyon, whose suit she rejected in favour of a gentleman of the name of Campbel. Lyon, exasperated at his repulse, found admittance to James; and practising upon his weak side,

and lady
Glamis.

A. D. 1537. fide, plied him with the most alarming insinuations, as to the practices and views of Angus, to whom the whole name of Douglas was devoted; and at last charged the innocent lady, her husband, and an old priest, with a design to poison the king, that Angus might be restored.

Nothing but the most barbarous and bloody jealousy could have induced James to listen to this accusation. The parties were remarkable for the quiet inoffensive lives they led, remote from courts, and unconcerned with faction. The lady was more distinguished by her beauty and virtue, than by her birth and quality; nor could the least fact be fixed, either upon her, or husband, upon which a suspicion of guilt could be founded. Even that circumstance was, by her artful accuser, urged to her prejudice; for he represented it as the effect of her cunning and caution. In short, James brutally left her to the mercy of the law, or, in other words, condemned her to the flames; for in cases of treason, at that time, to be tried, was the same as to be convicted. The evidence against her was so confused and contradictory, that some of the judges were for dropping the prosecution, and others for recommending her case to the king; but the majority prevailed to have it determined by a jury, who brought her in guilty, and she was condemned to be burnt alive upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, on the seventeenth of

of July. The defence she made upon her trial, A. D. 1537.
 as it has come to our hands, would have done
 honour to the ablest orator, and irrefragably
 established her innocence; but though it was
 reported to James, it was so far from mitigat-
 ing, that he aggravated her sentence, by her
 husband being obliged to be a spectator at her
 execution. Her heroic, yet resigned behaviour,
 when she received sentence, and was brought
 to the stake, melted the most hardened into
 tears. Her husband endeavoured to make his
 escape over the castle-wall of Edinburgh; but
 the rope proving too short, he was dashed in
 pieces; and lord Glamis, her son, though but a
 child, and consequently incapable of guilt, was
 confined in prison during the rest of this reign.
 The old priest, though put to the torture, con-
 fessed nothing, and was freed; and Lyon, the
 accuser, like Strahan already mentioned, was
 absurdly banished the kingdom.

Death of her
husband.

Some writers, favourable to the memory of the
 Stuart family, have endeavoured to palliate those
 horrid murders, by throwing the blame upon the
 king's wicked counsellors; but I am of opinion,
 that they were owing, especially the last, to the
 bloody disposition of James himself, which im-
 pelled him to destroy the objects of his jea-
 lousy at the expence of justice and humanity,
 even though he was conscious of their inno-
 cence. I shall but just mention, that the apology
 throwing the blame of a king's cruelty upon

Censure of
James.

A. D. 1537. evil counsellors, may be urged in favour of the most infamous tyrant, as well as the best intentioned prince; but the injustice done to this unfortunate lady seems to have sprung from private and personal motives. She appealed, at the time of her trial, to her most inveterate enemies, for the recluse, inoffensive life she led; and it was almost impossible that any ministerial consideration could mingle in the prosecution. My opinion is confirmed by the punishment inflicted on the principal evidence by which she suffered, which is a strong presumption that James believed her, even at the time of her prosecution, to be innocent of every crime alledged against her, but that of being born a Douglas.

1538.
A single
combat.

The Gothic custom of deciding accusations by single combat, when the matter did not admit of a legal proof, still prevailed in Scotland; and this being the case between two considerable barons, those of Drumlanrig and Hempfield, James left the cause to that mode of decision, of which he was himself a spectator. The combatants appeared in the lists according to the law of arms, and attacked each other with great fury; but after inter-changing many dreadful blows, the one being short-winded, and the other short-fighted, they were parted, by order of James.

The new
queen lands
in Scotland.

In the beginning of this year, he devoted himself entirely to pompous exhibitions and pro-

progreſſes, to divert his beautiful queen. Sir David Lindſay of the Mount, a famous Scotch bard of that reign, and a friend of the Reformation, was engineer of the pageants; and when the queen entered St. Andrews, ſhe paſſed through a triumphal arch, and a great cloud, which appeared above the gate, ſuddenly opening, a beautiful woman, dreſt like an angel, appeared, “having (ſays Lindſay the hiſtorian) the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen, in ſign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her grace; with certain orations and exhortations, made by the ſaid Sir David Lindſay, to the queen, inſtructing her to ſerve her God, obey her huſband, and keep her body clean, according to God’s will and commandments.” I have been the more particular in this quotation, becauſe it is an unexceptionable ſpecimen of the pageantry and oratory of thoſe days. The great aim of James, at this time, was to remove his queen’s prepoſſeſſions that the Scots were a barbarous people, and their country bare of buildings, and unimproved by agriculture. According to my author, he ſucceeded ſo well in this, by the pompous exhibitions daily preſented to her majeſty, that ſhe confeſſed the court and inhabitants of Scotland to be the moſt polite and civilized ſhe had ever ſeen; and the palaces of James, that of

A. D. 1538. Linlithgow especially, to be the most magnificent.

Rapacious-
ness of
James.

Black Acts.

James had, by the executions already mentioned, sufficiently proved himself to be the nephew of Henry the eighth; and he resembled that prince in another respect, that of his rapaciousness and profusion. Though Francis had paid him the fortune of his first queen in ready money, at the time of his marriage, and loaded him with presents to triple that amount; yet, before he left France, he thought proper, at Rouen, being then twenty-five years of age, to annul all alienations, infeoffments, donations, and dispositions of lands, rents, customs, which the king his father had in possession at the time of his decease; castle-wards, or any offices prejudicial to the crown, made by him or his guardians in his nonage. The reader, in the notes *,

* "He also revoked all entails made from the heirs-general to the heirs-male; as likewise, all infeoffments of lands given in blanche, which formerly held, by ward and relief, all regalities and confirmation of regalities, and other heritable offices, either granted by him, his tutors, or father (as it had been expressly statuted, that no such regalities should be given without the consent of parliament) all alienations, life-rents of lands devolving on the crown by forfeiture, bastardy, &c. all new creations of baronies, annexations of lands into fee, in prejudice of the services they owed him; as also, all discharge of service of suits of court, which his ancestors had possessed, all infeoffments of baronies, created in lordships, annexed to the crown; all gifts of lands and inheritances granted by him upon false information; whereas had he been truly acquainted with the circumstances, the same would not have been given: and, in general, he annulled every thing done by him in his minority, to the prejudice of his soul, the crown, and its patrimony: to which was added, that

will find the other particulars of this revocation, which was entirely conformable to the laws and constitution of Scotland; but situated as James was then, his treasury full, in close alliance with France, and courted by England, it tended to render him arbitrary. It put it into his power to resume his gifts, even those he made since he took the government into his own hands; and, in short, there was scarcely a great family in Scotland who might not be affected by so general a revocation, to which was subjoined a protest, that the king's not being in his realm at the time it was made, should not impede its legality. James, after his return, had accordingly summoned a parliament, in which the revocation was confirmed. But James had other sources of wealth; for his avarice even combated his superstition.

He knew that his clergy durst not dispute his will; and he had seen, with how much ease his uncle had appropriated to himself the revenues of the church, which, proportionable to the wealth of the two kingdoms, were greater in Scotland than in England. It is much to be questioned, whether James was so rank a bigot,

He engrosses the church livings.

that in case the king left the present possessors of lands, &c. returning to him by this general revocation, in the use of them, that they should not construe it into a right or gift, but esteem it a matter of favour; the king being allowed to retake them whenever he thought proper."

Black Acts, f. 126, 127. c. 40.

A. D. 1538. as he appeared to be, in matters of religion, or whether his seeming compliance with his clergy did not proceed from his engrossing their fairest possessions in Scotland. He had bestowed upon his numerous natural sons, while infants, the rich abbeyes of Melrofs, Kelso, Coldingham, Holyrood-house, and St. Andrews, and put their income, which amounted to an almost royal revenue, into his own pocket, without his receiving, so far as we know, a rebuke from the pope, or a representation from the clergy; but we have other evidences, besides that of sacrilege, to prove the sordid and bloody principles of this prince's government.

1539.
Account of
Buchanan
the poet's
escape.

James had a strong turn for poetry, and had appointed the famous George Buchanan to be preceptor to his natural son, the prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the regent-earl of Murray. Buchanan was then in great esteem, all over Europe, for the harmony of his Latin versification, and a vein of poetry fitted equally to satire and panegyric. It is an undoubted truth that, during the late and present reigns, for reasons that have been explained in the course of this history, church-preferments had been generally obtained by court-interest; and the clergy, at least the cloistered part of them, were incredibly wicked and ignorant. Buchanan, while he was abroad, had been tinctured with the protestant doctrines; and while he was tutor to the prior
of

A. D. 1539.

of St. Andrews, had wrote a satire upon the Franciscans, which subjected him to a prosecution; but it was dropt, upon his disowning himself to be the author. James, who knew the falsity of that defence, soon after the death of his queen Magdalen, was so much disgusted with the same order, that he employed Buchanan to write another satire against them, which he did; but James thinking it too tame, and not sufficiently poignant, ordered him to write a third upon the same subject, and he performed it with sufficient acrimony; which, to say the truth, is the chief merit of the poem. Though James, in honour, was obliged to have protected the poet he had employed, yet he meanly gave him up to the fury of that very clergy whom he so much despised; for he suffered Buchanan to be imprisoned; and he must have been burnt alive, had he not (the Muses holding the cable, says Drummond) escaped from his jail, and fled into England.

The only alleviation that can be brought for the conduct of James, at this time, is the bigotry of his queen, who was a Guise, and had an absolute command over his affections. We may easily believe, that she was entirely under the direction of her kinsmen, who were long the main champions of the papal religion in France; and that she omitted no opportunity of working upon James's disposition. She was backed
by

James go-
ve ned by
Beaton.

A. D. 1539. by Beaton, who now, by the death of his uncle, was archbishop of St. Andrews; and James, having a predilection for that family, was too much under his influence, in religious matters; nay, he may, at the time I now treat of, be considered as his first minister. The example of Henry, who was every day lighting the fires of persecution against his protestant and popish subjects, rendered the queen and Beaton doubly assiduous in watching over the inclinations of James. He had been so profuse in his amours, and so expensive in his way of living, that Henry knew his stated revenues, considerable as they were, could not support him; and he, about this time, renewed his invitations for James to give him a meeting at York, under the most magnificent promises of making him a rich and an independent prince. Henry's vanity did not a little co-operate with his designs, on this occasion. He had formed a plan of reformation, which James was to follow, and which indeed was copied from his example; and he had such a conceit of his own abilities, both in politics and theology, that he did not question to make an entire convert of James, in the personal interview he proposed. His specious promises certainly made a deep impression upon James; and, notwithstanding the influence of his queen and clergy, he, at this time, agreed to give his uncle the meeting
he

he desired; which was of the greater importance to Henry, on account of some intermediate events which happened on the continent. A. D. 1539.

The emperor continued to be still Henry's irreconcilable enemy; but he was now so intimately connected with France, that, perceiving he was under a necessity of travelling thro' the heart of that kingdom, to quell an insurrection of the Ghentois, he trusted his person, with an unlimited confidence, into the hands of his ancient enemy, Francis, who acquitted himself, at the same time, with the most sacred regard to hospitality. Charles had previously promised the investiture of the Milanese to Francis, or any of his sons. Francis, in return, during one of the confidential interviews he had with his Imperial guest, disclosed to him all the king of England's secrets, which Charles took care should come to Henry's ear; but Francis rejected all his proposals for renewing their league against the house of Austria. This close connection between Francis and Charles had (as I have already hinted) rendered Henry the more earnest to bring over James to his side; and in January this year, he appointed Sir Ralph Sadler to be his ambassador at the court of Scotland; and that able statesman has left us an account of his negociation, which confirms all I have observed with regard to the real character of James. Affairs of the continent.
1540.

A. D. 1540.
Offers of
the clergy
to James.

Beaton was, as to religious affairs, pretty much of the same cast as his master, and attached himself to the court of Rome, chiefly because it was the main prop of his own greatness. It is not then to be wondered at, if he pretended, on all occasions, a violent affection for that religion; and being, tho' but an indifferent scholar, an able politician, he, with some prelates of the same character, drew up a plan of opposition to Henry's proposals. Well knowing that money was the great object of James, they drew up a bloody roll of no fewer than three hundred and sixty noblemen and barons, who were infected with the new heresy (as the protestant religion was called) the fines and forfeitures of whose estates would bring at least an hundred thousand crowns a year to the royal exchequer; but they added, "That if his majesty was in want of ready money till those forfeitures could come in, they were ready to advance him fifty thousand crowns a year." With regard to the interview proposed by his uncle, they reminded him of all Henry's bloody practices; of his inveterate animosity against the pope and the emperor, who intended to dethrone Henry, and advance James to his throne; and how probable it was that his uncle desired the interview only that he might seize his person. They next endeavoured to inspire James with a horror of Henry's sacrilegious

crilegious practices, and represented that an alliance with him must detach him from all his continental connections, and leave him to the mercy of the English; and that he was under no necessity of imitating his uncle, because, if the fifty thousand crowns they proposed was not a sum sufficient to supply his exigencies, he was welcome to command the whole of their revenues. A.D. 1540

It appears, from lord Herbert's excellent history, as well as Sir Ralph Sadler's negotiations, that James admitted the opposite party to an audience, and gave them a cool hearing. They laid before him the great advantages that might attend his meeting with his uncle (which I have already mentioned) and endeavoured to remove all his prepossessions against the good faith of Henry, who had behaved with the most scrupulous honour on similar occasions; and had acted with the greatest generosity towards Scotland at the fatal defeat of Floddon, and during his majesty's own minority. Those debates seem to have taken up a considerable time, and to have been in agitation when Sadler arrived in Scotland. After some general compliments, and making a present to James of six fine horses from Henry, he opened his private instructions, and accused Beaton, who was now a cardinal, of treasonable practices, on the strength of some letters which had been intercepted in

Beaton
accused.

A. D. 1540.

Vindicated
by James.Sadler's
Letters.

the North of England. James perused the letters; but told Sadler, that the cardinal had already communicated to him their contents, and copies of the very same dispatches. He added, "That if either Beaton, or any of his clergy, should misbehave themselves, he knew how to reduce them to their duty, and render them obedient subjects." Sadler then urged him to seize the revenues of all the abbeys in his dominions; but James, as he had been tutored, refused to commit so sacrilegious an act. "What (continues he) need I take them into my hands, when I may have any thing I can require of them; for sure I am there is no abbey in Scotland, at this hour, but would chearfully give me whatever I want; and, if there are abuses in them, I will reform them, for there be a great many good." The embassador, according to his instructions, represented to James the vicious lives of those monks, and their unprofitable institution. "By God (replied the king) they that be naught you shall hear that I shall reform, and make them religious men, according to their professions." Sadler then told him the public rumour was, that the pope, the emperor, and the French king, had entered into engagements to invade England; and that James, as their confederate, was to do the same. James, with many asseverations, denied this charge; and Sadler concluded the conference by representing, that if prince

prince Edward of England (who was yet in his cradle) should die, Henry was impowered by his parliament to call James to his succession; and insisted upon the interview at York taking place, and the little dependence that James ought to have either upon France or the emperor. A. D. 1540.

It is uncertain what effect Sadler's representation had upon James; but Drummond intimates, that he resumed his former proposal of meeting Henry at Newcastle instead of York, each to be attended by no more than a thousand men. This, however, is improbable, as we know that Henry was, at that time, preparing to march into Yorkshire, depending upon his nephew's former promise; and made great preparations for his reception there. He was, however, disappointed; for James had, by this time, been entirely gained over by his queen and his clergy, though he thought proper to dissemble, because he was unprepared for war. Commissioners were even appointed, by way of preparative for a good understanding between the two courts; but, as the negotiation was only intended to gain time, they parted without any effect, though seemingly upon good terms. Ineffectual negotiation. It may be here proper to observe, that James's queen had, by this time, brought him two princes, which may be supposed to have encreased her influence. The new negociation, however, alarmed her party; and

A. D. 1540.

and the lord Maxwell, who was warden of the West marches of Scotland (even while the commissioners of the two nations were treating) ordered all the Scotch borderers to withdraw their effects from England. The commissioners separated, seemingly upon an amicable footing; and lord Maxwell immediately made an irruption into England, from whence he carried off a considerable booty. A body of English troops advancing towards the borders, James ordered Learmouth, who was his master of the household, to repair to the English court, to renew the negociations; but James was now no longer his own master, for, while Learmouth was in England, the Scotch borderers renewed their incursions. Henry, by this time, had made great preparations for meeting James at York, at which place he actually arrived; but, instead of meeting his nephew, he received apologies and excuses, which he very truly thought amounted to a downright refusal; and, upon leaving York, he issued orders for the commencement of hostilities. The whole of this management (which, though I have related it from English authors, who are far more authentic and precise in their accounts than those of Scotland, is not contradicted by the latter) evidently shews the infatuation under which James acted at this time, having actually sold both his honour and conscience to the clergy and his French favourites.

These

These persuaded him, that the emperor and the pope were still powerful enough to place him upon the throne of England; and, in the mean time, they supplied him with such sums, that the unhappy prince, tho' pressed by no immediate necessity, abandoned himself implicitly to their guidance. Of all his subjects, Sir James Hamilton was the most personally obnoxious to him, on account of his having butchered the earl of Lenox; but he was the favourite of the ecclesiastics, because he was bloody, cruel, inhuman, and almost without any feeling that discovered him to be a man. James, in the fulness of his affection for the clergy, desired them to choose a judge, in the nature of an inquisitor-general, to try, or rather to put to death, such of his subjects as they accused of heresy. They pitched upon Sir James Hamilton for that infernal office; and James acquiesced. This man's fury was answerable to their expectations; and he became, for some time, so great a favourite, that when James retired with his queen to any of his pleasant seats, he left him large sums of money for repairing and carrying on his buildings. The fires of persecution, as will be seen in the ecclesiastical part of this history, were lighted up over all Scotland; and the jails were too narrow to contain the persons who were accused of heresy, and devoted to the flames. It happened, fortunately for the people of Scotland, that

A. D. 1540.
James flattered by his clergy.

A. D. 1540. that the inquisitor was as insolent and unguarded as he was diabolical in his behaviour. He had often, among his intimates, boasted of the near relation in which the family of Hamilton stood to the crown; and had even thrown out some intimations of his intending to assassinate James. Among others to whom he had opened himself on this subject, was the sheriff of Linlithgow, whose younger brother, Patric Hamilton, abbot of Ferm, had been burnt for heresy. This sheriff's father (as well as Sir James) was a natural son of the house of Hamilton; but the sheriff being more than suspected of favouring the Reformed, Sir James, to ingratiate himself with the clergy, had devoted him to the flames. Before he could be apprehended, he resolved to save himself by the destruction of his kinsman. He sent his son to wait upon the king with his information; and the young man overtook James as he was entering his barge to pass to Falkland. The earnest manner in which he addressed him, and his informing him that he had matters of the deepest concern for his safety to disclose, startled James; but not chusing to return to Edinburgh, he pulled a signet ring off his finger, and giving it to Hamilton, ordered him to repair to the exchequer-office, and to reveal his discoveries to Kirkaldy, his treasurer, Sir Thomas Erskine, his secretary, and Sir James Learmouth, the master of his household. The
young

young man, who had previously informed the king that Sir James Hamilton was the party he accused, found the three officers of state at the exchequer-chamber, and to them he communicated his discoveries. A. D. 1540.

He accused Sir James of an intention to kill the king; of his entertaining many desperate and disorderly persons for that purpose; of his having appropriated to himself three thousand crowns, given him by James for repairing the castle of Rothsay, in the Isle of Bute; and many other crimes. The three officers of state knew, by the manner in which James had commissioned them, that he expected they would proceed against Sir James with the utmost severity. In the course of the young man and his father's examination it was suggested, that Sir James carried on a secret correspondence with the earl of Angus and the exiled Douglasses; and that he intended to assassinate the king in his bed-chamber. It is possible the detestation in which Sir James was held by the public, gave those accusations the greater credit; and the three commissioners secured his person that very day. His confinement alarmed the clergy, who earnestly interceded with James for his freedom, by representing, that the charges against him had been trumped up by heretics, on account of his zeal for the true religion; and endeavoured to palliate his offences, by pleading the openness of his temper,

Sir James
Hamilton
condemned
and executed.

A. D. 1540.

and his unguarded manner of conversation. The commissioners, on the other hand, and their friends, many of whom were well-wishers to the Reformation, knowing that they must be irretrievably ruined, if Sir James should escape, threw themselves at the king's feet, representing the atrociousness of his crimes, the clearness of the evidence from his own nearest relations, and the uncertain tenure on which the king held his life, if such a delinquent was suffered to escape; especially as the bringing him to justice would unalterably fix James in the affections of his people. James, devoted as he was to his clergy, felt all his former hatred of Hamilton revive; and believing, or seeming to believe, his guilt, left him to the mercy of a court and jury, who condemned him; and he accordingly lost his head on a scaffold.

After carefully considering the most authentic relations concerning James, at this period, I cannot help suspecting that the distractions of his court, the diversity of parties among his nobility and people, and perhaps a tincture of remorse, for some time, affected his brain. He lived retired, with his queen; his palace appeared like the cloistered retreat of monks; his sleeps were haunted by the most dreadful dreams, which he construed into apparitions; and the mangled body of Sir James Hamilton was always present to his imagination. The loss of his two sons, who died on the same day,

The king's
brain touch-
ed.

no doubt, added to the gloom of his mind; A. D. 1541.
and he saw his court abandoned by the greatest,
and best, part of his nobility.

The preparations which his uncle was making to revenge the insults offered to himself and his subjects, at last roused James into action. The English fleet had made reprisals upon his subjects; and had carried twenty of their trading vessels into their ports. Henry threatened to revive the antiquated claim of the English superiority over Scotland, and had given orders for a formidable invasion of the Scotch borders. He complained that James had usurped his title of Defender of the Faith, to which he had added the word Christian, implying that Henry was an infidel; but, as I have already observed, the kings of Scotland had, some time before, been complimented, by the papal See, with that title. James, on the other hand, threw his eyes towards Ireland, the north part of which was actually peopled with inhabitants who owned no sovereign but the king of Scotland, and who offered to serve James against the English; some of their chiefs having actually repaired to Scotland, and done homage to James. Henry had, about this time, declared himself king of Ireland, of which he was before only stiled the lord; and James roundly asserted that he had a preferable claim to, at least, one half of that island, which

His pretensions on Ireland.

A. D. 1541. had been peopled by the subjects of Scotland. Though the Scotch historians of this reign take very little notice of this incident, yet James appears to have been very tenacious of this title; and that there was a vast intercourse carried on between the subjects of Scotland and the northern Irish, who unanimously acknowledged James for their natural sovereign. To say the truth, this was the only ground of quarrel that king, with the least shadow of justice, could alledge against Henry.

Henry
claims the
superiority
of Scotland.

His parliament being met, many public spirited acts were passed; and the substance of one which annexed a vast property to the crown, may be found in the notes *. It is a

* "That whereas it is understood by the king's grace, and the three estates, that an augmentation of the patrimony of the crown is of the last consequence to the weal of the realm; it is therefore judged expedient, that our sovereign lord, following the laudable example of his progenitors, should annex to his crown, for the honourable support of his estate royal, both in peace and in war, the unannexed lands and lordships he is at present possessed of, to remain, for ever, as part of the royal domain, not to be alienated by the king himself, without consent of the three estates, and that too only for the most onerous causes; so that, if it shall happen that his present majesty, or any of his successors, shall dispose of the same, it shall be of no avail; for any future king may lawfully resume them, without process of law, the possessors refunding whatever they have received, of profit, from them, with all the other restrictions of former annexations; and therefore his highness, with advice of his parliament, has annexed the following lands: all the isles south and north the two Kintyres, with the castles, the lands, and lordships, of Orkney, Schetland, with the appertaining isles; the lands and lordship of Douglas, with its castle, tower, and fortrefs, patronage of churches, &c. the lands and lordships of Crawford-Lindsay and Crawford-John;

strong proof of the ascendancy of the clergy in A.D. 1541. that assembly, and that they and the commons, by far, outvoted the nobility, who remained highly disgusted with the court. I can easily see the true reasons, why the parliament did not oppose the madness of James at this time. Henry had incautiously, and indeed imprudently, threatened to revive the ridiculous and unjust claims of his ancestors; a conduct which united not only the clergy, but the common people of Scotland, against him. I am, however, of opinion, from the public acts of his reign, that he never was in earnest concerning that claim; and that the disregard shewn him by his nephew, was the true source of all his resentment against the Scots, which now rose so high, that the deliberations of their parliament plainly pointed towards a war with Eng-

John; the lands and lordships of Bonkill, Preston, Tantallon, with towers, fortresses, and donation of churches; the lands of Dunfire; the lands and lordship of Jedburg-forest, Kerrymure, with their appurtenances; the superiority of the whole earldom of Angus, with all the rents and possessions belonging to Archibald, some time earl of Angus, at the time of his forfeiture; the lands and lordship of Glamis, not holding of the church; the lands of Baky, Balmukiteis, Tannades, Drumglies, Langforgund, and Balhelwies, with the towers, fortresses, &c. the lands of Racleugh, Whitcamp, Over and Nether Howcleugh; the lands, lordship, and barony, of Avendale, with the tower, fortresses, patronage of churches, the same as the late Sir James Hamilton of Finnart enjoyed before his forfeiture; the lands and lordship of Liddesdale, with the castle of Hermitage, donation of churches, &c. the lands and lordship of Bothwell, (the earl having been forfeited and banished, on suspicion of befriending the Douglasses some years before) with the tower, fortresses, &c." Black Acts.

land.

A.D. 1541. land. The weapon-shawings, which had, for some years past, been disused, were now renewed, and strictly enforced; and the reader, from the original words of the acts, will find, in the notes, a more satisfactory account of the military system of the Scots in those days, than he can from any modern relation *. Before the

• “And for this purpose it was enacted, at the same time, that weapon-shewings (rendezvouses) should be made in the months of June and October; but, because they had been omitted for some years, the lieges should be mustered thrice the first year by the sheriffs, bailies of regality, provost and bailies of boroughs, and other commissaries, whom the king pleased to appoint. At these musters it was also ordained, that every nobleman, such as earl, lord, knight, and baron, and every great landed man, having one hundred pounds of yearly rent, should appear in white, light or heavy, as they chose, with weapons correspondent (effeirand) to his honour; while others, of lower degree, were to have jake of plate, halkrik, or brigatanes, gorget or pefane, with splents, panse of mail, with gloves of plate or mail: the other unlanded gentlemen and yeomen being ordered to wear jakes of plate, halkriks, splents, fellat, or steel bonnet, with pefane or gorget; the whole having swords. No other weapons were to be shewn at these rendezvouses, but strong spears and pikes six ells in length, Leith-axes, halberts, hand-bows, arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed swords. But because the first muster was so near (the morning after Low-Sunday) and the lieges might not be fully provided with these, they were allowed to appear there with such weapons as they could conveniently get before that day.

“They likewise ordained, that inhabitants of burghs who possessed one hundred pounds should be armed in white armour; all others, who could spend ten pounds yearly, having orders to appear at the musters like gentlemen and yeomen. To prevent frauds upon these occasions, it was statuted, that every earl, lord, baron, laird, and others, should give into the muster-masters the names and weapons of their attendant soldiers at every rendezvous, signed and sealed, to be considered by his majesty's commissaries, as all lords and bailies of regalities were to do the same within their jurisdictions. But as both numbers and arms are useless, where discipline does not obtain, they
farther

A. D. 1541.

assembly was dissolved, the members renewed the acts against leasing-making, by which is meant the misrepresenting the king to his nobles, or the nobles to their king; and James, to dismiss them in good-humour, passed an act of free-grace for all crimes committed in his minority; the earl of Angus, and Sir George and Sir Archibald Douglas, being excepted.

A war with
England.

Henry, after cutting off the head of his wife, Catharine Howard, married and divorced the princess Anne of Cleves, and found himself either deserted, or distrusted, by all the princes on the continent, protestant as well as Roman catholic. James and his clergy relied greatly on this public odium incurred by Henry; but the emperor, being now delivered from his danger, flatly disowned all the promises he had

farther voted, that the sheriff, steward, bailies, provost, aldermen, lords, and bailies of regality, shall, with the king's commissioners, after the musters are complete, chuse one captain or more for every parish, to exercise the companies of his district at least twice a month, in May, June, and July, on what days they shall think most convenient; and in every other month, if possible. The captains to be elected as often as the sheriff, commissaries, and counsellors, appointed by the king, shall think it expedient.

“ And, lastly, because great damage was always done to the country by the multitudes of horsemen, who came in times of war to the king's army, although all there fought on foot, it was prudently ordained, that no man should have any other than a baggage-horse, but should march on foot from the first place appointed by his majesty for the rendezvous of his army. Yet might earls, lords, barons, great landed men, and others whom the king or his lieutenants should appoint, ride wherever his majesty moved with his army.” Black Acts.

made

A.D. 1542. made to Francis regarding the Milanese. This produced first a coldness, and then a breach, between those two princes, and left Henry, whose dominions they had threatened jointly to invade, at liberty to continue his preparations against the Scots. The emperor, this year, made an unsuccessful expedition against Algiers; but Henry offered him his friendship, which Charles would have accepted of, if the other would have consented to establish the legitimacy of his daughter, the princess Mary. Being disappointed in this attempt, Henry sent Paget, one of his ablest ministers, to prevail on Francis to continue neuter in the war which was ready to break out with Scotland, with an offer to legitimate the princess, and to give her in marriage to the duke of Orleans. Francis, who knew Henry's motive, rejected all his proposals with some disdain; and being assured of the friendship of James, he invaded the Imperial dominions in five different places, but without much success.

Henry, finding that Francis had full employment for his arms upon the continent, continued his preparations against Scotland with redoubled assiduity, and ordered his fleet, then the most formidable of any in the world, to make fresh descents upon Scotland. At the same time, he appointed a very considerable army to rendezvous upon the borders, under the

com-

command of Sir Robert Bowes, one of his wardens, the earl of Angus, and his two brothers, Sir George and Sir Archibald Douglas. James was every day expecting supplies of money, arms, and other necessaries from Francis; but these not arriving, he reassembled his parliament on the fourteenth of March, which gratified him in all his demands. Many excellent regulations were made for the internal government, peace, and security of the kingdom, and against the exportation of money instead of merchandize. Acts were passed for fortifying and embellishing the town of Edinburgh, and for better supplying the subjects with wine, and all the other necessaries of life. The royal revenue was encreased by many additional estates; and the last hand was put to one of the best plans for a national militia *

A. D. 1542.

The Scotch parliament meets.

* An act passed, commanding every landed man to provide one hagbut (a species of small artillery) for every hundred pound he had of new extent, with ammunition and bullet-moulds in proportion. Every one possessed of an hundred marks of land was to furnish two culverins, and of fifty marks one of the same, with ammunition, moulds, &c. to be kept in order at their respective dwellings. It was farther enacted, that one or more gunners should be provided for each piece of artillery, and to teach others their management, all to be ready within eighteen months after the publication of this statute, under pain of paying to the king, double the price of each piece of ordnance he should have bought, and is deficient in what was wanting, to be applied to the purchase. That time elapsed, at the first half yearly muster, each man was to appear with his quota of ordnance; after which, they were not obliged to bring them, unless specially commanded. The lords of regality, as well as those of the royalty, and every churchman, to produce, upon that occasion, artillery proportionable to their temporalities; to be kept at the castle, abbey, or mansion of the bishop, prelate, or churchman, and to be left to his successor, for the defence of the realm.

A. D. 1542. that perhaps ever appeared. As yet, excepting in the disappointment which Henry met with from his nephew in not meeting him at York, he had no grounds for commencing hostilities. But it is here proper to observe, that the queen-mother was then dead; and consequently, the connection between James and Henry was weakened. Whatever her private character might have been, she was certainly a happy instrument of preventing bloodshed between the two kingdoms. I know of no historian who pretends to account for that invincible aversion, which she carried to her grave, at her husband the earl of Angus, excepting her jealousy. We are told, that she intended to have spent the latter part of her life in England; but that she was disobliged with her brother, for the severity with which he treated her daughter the lady Margaret Douglas. She was buried with royal honours at Perth.

James, to all appearance, was at this time in a most desirable situation. His domain, by forfeitures and otherwise, far exceeded that of

Nor were the burghs exempted: but as it could not be determined by parliament what each of them could send, their magistrates were commanded forthwith to meet and settle their quotas; and so general was the order, that not even life-rent ladies were exempted.

But because neither the artillery nor harness could be got in readiness at the time specified by the act, unless merchants imported them, it was ordained, that each merchantman, carrying one last of goods, should bring home either two hagbuts or more, with powder, ball, &c. or as much metal as would make them, with ammunition and harness in proportion, for the king's lieges. Black Acts.

any

any of his predecessors. He could command the purses of his clergy. He had large sums of ready money in his exchequer; his forts were well stored and fortified; and he was now daily receiving remittances of money, arms, and ammunition, from France. All this shew of happiness was only in appearance; for the affections of his nobility, and the wiser part of his subjects, were now alienated from him more than ever. His cardinal minister's insolence and violence had contributed to this. Not contented with the vast revenues and dignities he possessed, he summoned some of the chief nobility to attend him at St. Andrew's, to be witnesses of his pompous victory over heresy, in the cause of Sir John Borthwick, a gentleman of very considerable rank and abilities, and captain of the royal guard. The assembly being met, the cardinal appeared on a throne erected above the seats of the other nobility, who were the earls of Huntley, Arran, Mar-shal, and Montrose, the lords Lindsay, Erskine, Seaton, and a number of other great barons and landholders, who were strongly suspected of heresy, and whom the cardinal hoped to intimidate, by making them the attendants of his triumph. I must refer the reader to the original record of this process *, which other-

A. D. 1542.

The re-
formers
persecuted.

* It is printed in Fox's Martyrology, and in the Appendix to Keith's History of the Affairs of the Church and State of Scotland.

A.D. 1542.

wife might be thought too absurd to gain credit. It is sufficient here to say, that the articles of accusation against Borthwick were formally read, and he himself summoned into court. Upon his not appearing, he was adjudged to be guilty of heresy; his estate and effects were declared to be forfeited, his body was doomed to the flames, and he himself actually burnt in effigy.

The Eng-
lish defeated
by the
Scots.

Lindsay.

The cardinal's proceedings proved to be as impolitic as they were arbitrary. The illustrious spectators conceived a horror at his unchristian behaviour, and formed a resolution among themselves of rescuing, if possible, their master from such a tyrant. James had nominated the earl of Huntley to command his army on the borders, consisting of ten thousand men, and his lieutenant-general was Sir Walter Lindsay of Torphichen, who had seen a great deal of foreign service, and was esteemed an excellent officer. Huntley acquitted himself admirably well in his commission, and was so well served by his spies, as to have certain intelligence, that the English intended to surprize and burn Jedburgh and Kelso. The English army under Sir Robert Bowes and the Douglasses, with other northern Englishmen, continued still upon the borders; and one of the resolutions the Scotch nobility and gentry had come to, was not to attack them on their own ground, nor to act offensively, unless their
enemies

enemies invaded Scotland. Huntley being informed that the English had advanced, on the twenty-fourth of August, to a place called Haldanrig, and that they had destroyed great part of the Scotch and debateable lands, resolved to engage them; and the English were astonished when, at day-break, they saw the Scotch army drawn up in order of battle. Neither party could now retreat without fighting; and Torphichen, who led the van, consisting of two thousand of the best troops of Scotland, charged the English so furiously, that Huntley gained a complete and an easy victory. Above two hundred of the English were killed, and six hundred taken prisoners; among whom were their general Sir Robert Bowes, Sir William Mowbray, and about sixty of the most distinguished northern barons; the earl of Angus escaping by the swiftness of his horse. The loss of the Scots was so inconsiderable that it is not mentioned.

Learmouth was then residing in England on the part of James, who pretended still to desire an accommodation; but previously insisted, that the Scotch ships which had been taken by the English fleet, should be released. Learmouth not succeeding in this request, declared, on the part of James, that neither Bowes nor any of the English prisoners could be admitted to ransom till it was complied with. Henry, in a passion, replied, that he was still master of the
rod

Negotiation
with
Henry.

A. D. 1542.

A. D. 1542. rod (meaning the duke of Norfolk) that had already chastized Scotland; and gave orders for assembling a numerous army under that nobleman. The French king having now gained some respite at home, had sent over Morvilliers as his embassador, with most magnificent promises of assistance to James, which was daily expected; and this had determined him to make a fresh essay for gaining time. Lindsay has recounted a very singular incident, which proves, that Henry had still the remains of affection for his nephew. He says, that James charged Learmouth with a letter, which he was to deliver to Henry, with the express condition, that none but himself should see it. Learmouth being next day called to receive his answer at the council-board, saw the letter lying open upon the table, and took an opportunity of hinting to Henry, that he had broken his promise. Henry denied that he had, because his faithful counsellors were part of himself; and desired him to advise his master to keep nothing hid from his nobility, and to discharge all secret council, especially priests and flatterers. The reader will find Henry's words, which are extremely remarkable, in the note *. I have been the more explicit on this

* The king of England hearing this man's complaint and narration, perceived him to be wise and true in his master's commission, and so fervent in that cause, answered him in this manner, saying, "My heart, Sir James, I had rather give twenty-thousand pounds sterling, ere I failed to my sister's son.
the

incident, as it seems to confirm what I shall have occasion afterwards to mention, that Henry, at this time, entertained a private correspondence with some of the Scotch nobility, and that he approved of their resolutions. A. D. 1542.

In the mean while, the duke of Norfolk having raised a great army, had orders to march northwards, and to disperse a manifesto, complaining of James for having disappointed him of the interview at York; and reviving the ridiculous claim of his own and his ancestors superiority over the kingdom of Scotland. It is plain, from the words of this manifesto, which is published in Hollinshed, that Henry was still placable towards James; and that he would easily have dropt that claim, if

Scotland
threatened
with an
invasion,

the king of Scotland, your master, or break any promise to him, as you allege: And as for your writing that you see yonder open upon the board, no man hath seen it but my own body, and I the head; and they are in me, and I in them, in all conclusions and counsels holden or given in England by me, since I was king thereof; and be you sure that they dare not any of them show any point or jot of my secret to any other, for all the gold in England. And you may assure my sister's son, the king of Scotland, if he use himself, or the commonwealth of his realm, otherwise, in any secret manner, without the advice of his lords and great men and counsellors, as I do, and make them his own body, and he to be their head, or else he shall have an ill-guided realm, and tyre himself and them both, and misfair the government and guidement of his country and commonweal thereof; and, at the last, his own self misknow him, and his enemies shall overcome him, when he has most ado: Therefore I would counsel him to discharge all privy counsel, and especially priests and flatterers who hindered him to speak with me, which he shall them as evil counsellors at the length." Lindsay.

his

A. D. 1542. his nephew would have made any personal advances towards a reconciliation.

The condition of James was now more deplorable than ever. The few faithful counsellors he had about him, such as Kirkaldy of Grange, who was then lord-treasurer, plainly intimated, that he could have no dependence upon his nobles, as he was devoted to the clergy; and James, sometimes in a fit of distraction, would draw his dagger upon the cardinal, and other ecclesiastics, when they came to him with fresh propositions of murder and proscriptions, and drive them out of his presence. But he had no constancy of mind; and he certainly put into his pocket a second bloody scroll, that had been brought him by his priests, beginning with the earl of Arran, the first subject of the kingdom. In one of his cooler moments, he appointed the lord Erskine, and some others of his nobility, to make a fresh tentative for gaining time; and Henry even condescended to order the duke of Norfolk, (who was then advanced as far as York) the lord privy seal, the bishop of Durham, and others, to treat with him. The conferences were short and unsuccessful. The duke bitterly complained, that the Scots fought only to amuse him, till the season for action was over. In short, he considered both them and Learmouth, who was ordered to attend him, as so many spies, and treated them accordingly. It was
the

the twenty-first of October, before he entered the east borders of Scotland. He was attended by the earl of Southampton, (an able officer, who died on the march) the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surry, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, with other great landholders on the borders, Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, and Sir John Gage, comptroller of the household to Henry. According to the Scotch historians, his army consisted of forty thousand men; but I am of opinion, that this number was too great to find subsistence in Scotland at such a season; and that the English have more truly fixed it at twenty thousand.

A. D. 1542.

which takes place.

James affected to complain of this invasion, as being unprovoked; but he lost no time in preparing to repel the danger. The situation of his nobility, who were pressed by a foreign invasion on the one hand, and domestic tyrants on the other, induced them to hold frequent consultations; and, in one of them, they resolved to renew the scene that had been acted at Lawder Bridge, under James the third, by hanging all his grandson's evil counsellors. The Scotch historians say, that this resolution was not executed, because the nobility could not agree about the victims that were to be sacrificed; and that the king, who was then encamped with his army at Fallamoor, having intelligence of their consultation, removed hastily to Edinburgh; from whence he sent orders

Opposed and defeated by James.

A. D. 1542. for his army to advance, and give battle to the duke of Norfolk; who appears, as yet, not to have entered the Scotch borders. The answer of the nobility was, that they were determined not to attack the duke upon English ground; but that if he invaded Scotland, they knew their duty. The earl of Huntley, who commanded the van of the Scotch army, consisting of ten thousand men, was of the same opinion; but no sooner did that duke pass the Tweed, than he harraſſed the English army, cut off their foraging parties, and diſtreſſed them in ſuch a manner, that Norfolk agreed once more to a conference for peace; which was managed, on the part of the Scots, by the biſhop of Orkney, and Sir James Learmouth; but nothing was concluded. The English general, finding it now impoſſible, on many accounts, to proſecute his invaſion, repaſſed the Tweed, and was harraſſed in his march by the earl of Huntley, who deſiſted from the purſuit the moment his enemies gained English ground.

His miſta-
ken con-
duct.

Such, from the beſt information I can gather, were the circumſtances attending this invaſion; and I cannot help thinking, that they do great honour to the firmneſs and patriotiſm of the earl of Huntley, and the Scotch nobility in general. They knew the vaſt advantages that muſt ariſe to their country by a good underſtanding being reſtored between James and his uncle; but they bravely repelled the invaſion,
which

which chiefly proceeded from misunderstanding, and personal animosities. James, whose army at this time amounted to above thirty thousand men, continued still at Edinburgh, from whence he sent frequent messages to order his nobility and generals to follow the duke of Norfolk into England; but they were disregarded. James, immured as he was by priests and worthless favourites, was flattered, that now he had it in his power to be revenged for all the indignities that had been offered by England to Scotland. In this he was encouraged by the French ambassador, and the high opinion he had of his own troops. About the beginning of November, he came to a resolution of reassembling his army, which was disbanded upon the duke of Norfolk's retreat. This project appeared so feasible and so promising, that several of the nobility are said to have fallen in with it, particularly the lord Maxwell, the earls of Arran, Cassils, and Glencairn, with the lords Fleming, Somerville, and Erskine; others represented, but in vain, that the arms of Scotland had already gained sufficient honour by obliging the powerful army of the English, with their most experienced general at their head, to make a shameful retreat before a handful; that the force of Scotland was inferior to that of England; and that an honourable peace was still practicable. It was said, in reply to those considerations, that

A.D. 1542.

the state of the quarrel was now greatly altered; that Henry had in his manifesto, declared his intention to enslave their country; that he treated the nobility as his vassals; that the duke of Norfolk had been guilty of burning the dwellings of the defenceless inhabitants, by laying above twenty villages and towns in ashes; and that no Scotchman, who was not corrupted by Henry's gold, would oppose the king's will. The last, perhaps, was the chief argument that prevailed on the lord Maxwell, a nobleman of great honour and courage, to agree to carry the war into England by Solway, provided he was at the head of ten thousand men. It was at last agreed, that the earl of Arran and the cardinal should openly raise men, as if they intended to enter the east marches, where they were to make only a feint, while the lord Maxwell was to make the real attempt upon the west. Private letters were every where circulated to raise the men who were to serve under the lord Maxwell; among whom were the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, the lords Fleming, Somerville, Erskine, and many other persons of great consideration. James, who never was suspected for want of courage, more than probably would have put himself at the head of this expedition, had he not been dissuaded from it by his priests and minions, who reminded him of the consultations at Fallamoor, and the other treasonable

sonable practices of the nobility. They added, A. D. 1542. that most of them being corrupted by the English gold, he could not be too much on his guard. He was at last persuaded to repair to the castle of Lochmaben or Carlaverock, and there to wait the issue of the inroad.

It was probably at this place, that James was prevailed on to come to the fatal resolution of appointing one Oliver Sinclair, a son of the house of Rossin, and a favourite minion at court, to command the army in chief, and his commission was made out accordingly. On the twenty-third of November, the Scots began their march at midnight; and having passed the Esk, all the adjacent villages were seen in flames by the break of day. Sir Thomas Wharton, the English warden of those marches, the bastard Dacres, and Musgrave, hastily raised a few troops, the whole not exceeding five hundred men, and drew them up upon an advantageous ground; when Sinclair ordering the royal banner to be displayed, and being mounted on the shoulders of two tall men, produced and read his commission. It is impossible to imagine the consternation into which the Scots were thrown upon this occasion; and their leaders setting the example, the whole army declared, (according to the Scotch authors) that they would rather surrender themselves prisoners to the English, than submit to be commanded by such a general. In an instant,

His army
surrenders
to the
English.

A. D. 1542. Instant, all order in the Scotch army was broken down; horse and foot, soldiers and scullions, noblemen and peasants, were intermingled. It was easy for the English general to perceive this confusion, and perhaps to guess at its cause. A hundred of his light horse happening to advance, they met no resistance: the nobles were the first who surrendered themselves prisoners; and the rest of the English advancing, they obtained a bloodless victory; for even the women and the boys made prisoners of Scotch soldiers, and few or none were killed. The lord Herbert relates the circumstances of this shameful affair with some immaterial differences; but agrees with the Scotch authorities upon the whole. He mentions, however, no more than eight hundred common soldiers having been made prisoners; which, if true, proves, that the bulk of the Scotch army made their retreat. The chief of the prisoners were the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with above two hundred gentlemen besides. Before I leave this disagreeable subject, I am to observe, that the spot where the surrender was made, was upon debateable ground, which had been long common to both nations; so that the Scots could not be said to have entered England. The truth is, all the accounts we have of this affair, from the authors of both nations, are like

like the causes which effected the event, confused, inconsistent, and contradictory. The Scotch army retreated indeed; but their march was so much incommoded by the influx of the tide, that the eight hundred who were taken prisoners, when they surrendered, were actually in danger of perishing in the marshes. With regard to the noblemen and gentlemen of note who were made captives, their proportion so greatly exceeds that of the common soldiers, that I am inclined to think, their surrender was voluntary; and that it had been preconcerted between them and the English wardens. Upon the whole, the greatest loss James sustained on this occasion, setting aside the reputation of his arms, consisted in his train of artillery, which was composed of fourteen pieces of cannon, and could not be carried off.

He was then at Carlaverock, which is about twelve miles distant from the place of action, depressed in his spirits, and anxious about the event of the expedition, which is to this day called the Road of Solway-Moss. When the news came to his ears, and that the earl of Arran and the cardinal were returned to Edinburgh, he was seized with an additional dejection of mind, which brought him to his grave. In such a situation, every peccant circumstance of his former life wounded his conscience; and he, at last, sunk into a sullen melancholy,

His death,

A. D. 1542.

lancholy, which admitted of but little company, and no consolation. From Carlaverock he removed to Falkland; and was sometimes heard to express himself, as if he thought that the whole body of his nobility were in a conspiracy against his person and dignity. The presence of the few attendants who were admitted into his chamber, and who were the wicked instruments of his misconduct, seemed to aggravate his sufferings; and he either could not or would not take any sustenance. His death being now inevitable, Beaton approached his bed-side with a paper, to which he is said to have directed the king's hand, pretending, that it was his last will. On the eighth of December, while James was in this deplorable state, a messenger came from Linlithgow, with an account that his queen was brought to bed; and the last words he was distinctly heard to say, were, "It will end as it began: the crown came by a woman, and it will go with one; many miseries approach this poor kingdom; king Henry will either master it by arms, or win it by marriage." He then turned his face to the wall, and in broken ejaculations pronounced the word Solway-Moss, and some faint expressions alluding to the disgrace he suffered. In this state he languished for some days, for it is certain he did not survive the thirteenth*.

* The learned annotator on Buchan. Hist. Fol. Edit. Edinb. 1715, p. 450, has enumerated the principal authors that condescend

Such was the fate of James the fifth, aged thirty years and eight months. He was a prince formed by nature to be the ornament of a throne, and a blessing to his people; but education rendered him a disgrace to the one, and a scourge to the other. Like most of his predecessors, he was born with a vigorous, graceful person; which, in the early part of his reign, was improved by all the manly exercises then in use. I have already mentioned, from an author who lived in his time, but was far from being favourable to his memory, the incredible fatigues he underwent; and the undaunted spirit he exerted in reducing outlaws, and restoring the internal peace of his kingdom. Though frugal of his money, and rapacious in acquiring it, his stile of living was magnificent, and his taste elegant. I have already mentioned his palaces; but perhaps the lamentable disorders of the reigns that immediately succeeded his, have destroyed the chief monuments of his genius in architecture, and hortulane improvements. His turn for natu-

A. D. 1542.

and character.

Buchanan.

scend on the day of the king's death: Some placing it on the tenth; others on the thirteenth, fourteenth, and twentieth days of December. But the most probable of all is, that he died the thirteenth; because this is supported by a letter written by the earl of Arran, governor of the kingdom, to the pope. Vide *Epist. Regum. Scot. Vol. II.* And there is in the Advocate's Library, a copy of the confirmation of former leagues betwixt the kings of France and Scotland; which is dated the fifteenth of December, in the second year of the reign of queen Mary; by which we are assured, that the king was dead before or on the fifteenth of December the preceding year. Keith.

A. D. 1542. ral philosophy, is seen in the assiduity in working the gold mines of his kingdom; which, almost ever since, have been totally lost to the public. Some of his gold medals and coins, with regard to the beauty of design, drawing, and execution, are equal to those of Greece and Rome; and each of them has the same striking likeness of his face.

James had a number of mistresses; and three of them, Weir, Sandilands, and Oliphant, are mentioned in the anecdotes and ballads of his reign. He was the author of a humorous composition in poetry, which goes by the name of the Gaberlunzie Man; and if the adventure was true, it proves James not to have been very delicate in his amours, or in the means of pursuing them. A strong evidence of his arbitrary power may be produced, from his turning even his vices into profit; for, as I have already hinted, on pretence of providing for his natural children, while they were in their cradles, he engrossed, and detained in his own hands, an immense ecclesiastical revenue. It may be here proper to inform the reader, that during his and his father's reigns, the exportation of corn and fish from Scotland, brought in such sums, that the value of a Scotch shilling, or a pound, was a third of the same denomination in England. I mention this, to confirm what I have said above, concerning the improvement of trade in Scotland; and

and its miserable decrease between the accession of James the sixth to the crown of England, and the incorporated union of the two kingdoms, in 1706; when the value of Scotch money was but one twelfth of the same denomination in England. A. D. 1542.

The disregard which James shewed to his nobility in general; his abandoning himself to the bloody dispositions of an ignorant clergy; the unmanly, unjust, and inhuman executions which he suffered to take place, even in civil affairs; with the whole system of his behaviour towards his uncle, are indelible stains in his character and conduct; and they are aggravated, by his acting through the whole, rather from arbitrary and sordid principles, than from any conviction of reason or conscience; which sometimes even mitigate, if they cannot justify, the blame of mistaken actions. One motive, not taken notice of by historians, may be assigned for his mistakes, with regard to his uncle; for it is certain, that the pope, the emperor, and (towards the latter end of his reign) the French king, took great pains to convince him, that it was in their power to dethrone Henry, and to advance him to the crown of England.

It has been insinuated, that he was poisoned by the clergy; but, as Drummond justly observes, this is unlikely; because his life was their only safe-guard. The manner and cir-

A. D. 1542. circumstances of his death, however, in the flower of his age, and possessed of a vigorous constitution, (for James, though incontinent, was temperate) gives some suspicion of an unfair death. His loss at Solway-Moss was considerable, and might have been easily retrieved. The indignation he might conceive against his nobles, ought to have affected a prince of his spirit with resentment, rather than despondency; especially as he had the means of revenge in his hands, by the excellent condition in which his treasury, his arsenals, and fortifications were. I am therefore inclined to think, that some of his ignorant clergy or favourites, in consequence of the pernicious prepossessions and practices of the times, might administer certain philtres or potions, in order to conciliate his affections, which might gradually operate both upon his brain and health. His severity, or rather cruelty, towards those who offended him, especially his nobles, and his thirst of revenge, was such as raised an universal belief, that if he had succeeded in his last attempt upon England, he would have put to death the chief nobility who were concerned in the consultations at Fallamoor. The lord Maxwell, who knew and had studied his character, was so much convinced of this, and of his vindictive disposition, that instead of escaping, as he might have done, from the encounter at Solway-Moss, he declared, he would rather

rather be Henry's prisoner at London, than be shamefully hanged at the cross of Edinburgh. Sir Ralph Sadler, the English minister at the court of James, makes a kind of an apology, in one of his letters, for James chiefly employing churchmen in affairs of state. "To be plain with you, (says he to his correspondent) I see none among them (i. e. the Scotch nobility) that hath any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience, to take in hand the direction of things. So that the king, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy, as his only ministers, for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here." We are not entirely to depend upon Sadler's opinion in this passage. He resided at the Scotch court at a time when all the nobility were estranged from it; so that he could know their characters but very slightly; and he more than probably formed his idea of them upon the information of their enemies. Some of them, as appears from their conduct in the next reign, were certainly men of capacity, virtue, and courage.

The memory of James was celebrated by Ariosto, the greatest genius in poetry that Italy has produced since the Augustan age, under the name of Zerbino. Ronfard, the celebrated French poet, who came to Scotland with his queen, and resided there for some years, has given us a very advantageous idea

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idea of his person, in some more than tolerable French lines. Several Italian poets have recorded his memory in excellent Latin verses. His corpse was carried with great funeral pomp from Falkland to the abbey of Holyrood-house, attended by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, Marſhal, and other noblemen, and deposited in a vault with the body of his queen Magdalen.

M A R Y.

Birth of
queen
Mary.

THE unfortunate lady whose reign I now attempt to describe, was the only surviving child of James the fifth; and so recluse was that prince's court, that historians are not precisely certain as to the day of her birth, which I am inclined to fix to the seventh day of December. As nothing personal now occurs with regard to her, it is proper here to give some account of the state of the kingdom, at the time of her father's death.

Henry the eighth had, of late, adopted the system of dividing the Scotch nobility among themselves; and he considered such of them as fell under the displeasure of James, for their firmness in refusing to enter England, as being peculiarly entitled to his favour and protection.



J. Taylor sculp.

MARY.

tection. He had ordered the noblemen and gentlemen who had given him his bloodless victory at Solway-Moss, to be brought up to London by Sir Henry Savill, and Sir Thomas Wentworth; and after they had reposed themselves for some days in the Tower, he furnished them with cloaths out of his own wardrobe. They next were brought, for form sake, before the English council-board, where Audley, the chancellor, after vindicating the conduct of his master, and blaming that of James, informed them, that they were released from the Tower; and that from thenceforth, the houses of the chief nobility in England were to be their prisons. The earl of Cassils was accordingly committed to the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Glencairn to that of the duke of Norfolk, and the lord Maxwell with others were lodged in the houses of the most illustrious English noblemen, and officers of state.

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Scotch prisoners
treated well
in England.

In Scotland, cardinal Beaton took the lead in the government, with a most impolitic haughtiness. Without regard to the queen-dowager, or the earl of Arran, who was the first prince of the blood, he claimed the regency under the pretended will of the late king. It does not appear, that any respect was paid by the Scotch nobility to this will; nor do I perceive that Beaton, bold and assuming as he was, ventured to insist upon its reality; for

Ambition
of Beaton.

1543.

A. D. 1543. for though he ordered it to be proclaimed at Edinburgh, the earl of Arran, in right of his blood, was recognized by the nobility, on the twenty-second of December, as governor of the kingdom, and tutor to the queen.

The earl
of Arran
regent.

That nobleman was ill-fitted for such a post, and at such a juncture. If he was notorious for no striking vices or natural failings, he had never distinguished himself as a patriot; so that he was considered rather as being free from ambition or immorality, than as possessed of virtue and constancy. He had, notwithstanding, sufficient discernment to know the importance of his own station; the strength and danger of the opposition he was to encounter, and the ordinary discharge of his duty; though without firmness to combat the one, and without activity to fulfil the other. But the situation of Scotland, at this time, was peculiarly unhappy:

Account
of the Re-
formation
in Scot-
land.

The doctrines of the Reformation had shaken many of the nobility in the profession and belief of the old religion, without fixing them in the new; and, consequently, they were indifferent as to every mode of worship; but wished well to the Reformation, that they might share in the plunder of the church. The people, in general, were so much disgusted with the old religion, and so fired with indignation at the vices, ignorance, and superstition of the clergy, that without regard to decency,

A. D. 1543.

cency, reason, or justice, they were determined to exterminate popery in every shape. A few of the wisest and best patriots, without attaching themselves to the old religion, were for retaining it, till a sober, regular reformation could be effected. Some of the great nobility, on the other hand, were for retaining popery with all its absurdities; for no other reason, but because it was the religion of their ancestors. Beaton put himself at the head of the latter, because they were the most compacted and consistent with themselves, as well as most favourable to his views and ambition. The circumstances of a minority fell out opportunely for the designs of the first and second classes of those I have described; and Beaton's abilities as a statesman, however they have been extolled by some authors, were far from being conspicuous at this crisis, when deprived of a king entirely devoted to his will. He was ignorant, to contempt, as to the duties of his profession, which his avowed profligacy of life disgraced. His all-grasping disposition, which appeared by his proclaiming the will of the late king, had rendered him obnoxious to the laity of every denomination. Thus, his chief dependence was upon the party of the queen-dowager, and support from France, together with the indolence and inactivity of the earl of Arran. The latter, however, stimulated by his friends, got so far the better of his natural

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disposition, that when the pretended will of the king was set aside, and himself proclaimed regent, he seized upon the Exchequer, the royal forts and palaces, and seem disposed to act with vigour in the exercise of government. The reader, however, must have but an imperfect idea, as to the springs of the events I am to open, without attending to what passed in England, where some of the greatest of the Scotch nobility continued still prisoners.

Henry proposes to marry his son with the queen.

It is not too bold a conjecture to repeat, that as the bloody unforgiving disposition of the late king, gave rise to his disgrace at Solway-Moss; Henry was perfectly well convinced, that he would find it an easy matter to bring them into his views. Though his life had never been distinguished by any mild or placable measures, yet he acted, on this occasion, as an artful, consummate, politician. He affected to consider the Scotch nobility, his prisoners, as so many victims to the justice of his own cause; and their constant opposition to an unprovoked invasion of England, undoubtedly gave them merit in his eyes. He and his nobility testified their regard for the illustrious captives, by a profusion of entertainments and diversions of every kind; and Henry admitted them into some degree of familiarity. He bewailed the constant bickerings that had so long subsisted between the two kingdoms. He expatiated upon the advantages of an union. He displayed

displayed the magnificence of his own court; the progress of learning, and the dawn of the fine arts in his dominions; all which he attributed to the extermination of the papal power; and, at last, directly proposed a match between his own son, afterwards Edward the sixth, and the infant queen of Scotland; but some English writers, with no small appearance of probability, say, that the proposition originally came from his Scotch prisoners. They undoubtedly encouraged the motion; and Henry, from that time, altered the whole plan of his policy, with regard to Scotland.

Being perfectly convinced as to the springs of the affair at Solway-Moss; and that the conquest of Scotland, by arms, was an object equally chimerical and destructive to both nations, he determined, if possible, to reduce it by money. Being well informed by his prisoners, as to the state of parties there, he entered upon the terms of their deliverance; and I cannot help thinking, that he knew of the death of James, and the birth of Mary, before those two events came to the ears of his prisoners. In a few days the agreement was settled upon the terms which the reader will find in the note*; and we are told, that the

Scotch prisoners sent home.

* These were the earls of Cassils and Glencairn; the lords Somervell, Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming. It doth not appear by Mr. Sadler's Negotiations, that any other of the Scottish prisoners were sent home on this errand; however, I shall, for the satisfaction of the reader, set down here, from the Fæ-

A. D. 1543. chief of the prisoners bound themselves by oath, not only to forward the intended match between their queen and the prince of Wales, but to put her person in Henry's custody, with all the forts, palaces, and public regalia of Scotland; and to make him regent of their kingdom, during the nonage of the royal pair. Henry was so keenly bent on this scheme, that he actually gave them their liberty to return to Scotland; but exacted from each of them a fresh oath, to recommit themselves to capti-

dera Angliæ, the names of the other principal persons, together with the sums stipulated for their ransoms, by the ambassadors of Scotland, at the time that the treaties of marriage and commerce were agreed upon this summer. At which time, the ransoms for the above noblemen, viz. Cassils, &c. were stipulated also: By which it would appear, that they had been dismissed by king Henry upon their single parole, at least, till they came to Newcastle, where they remained till their hostages came thither. Earls of Cassils and Glencairn, at 1000l. each; lords Somervell, Maxwell, and Fleming, 1000 merks each; lord Gray, 500l. lord Oliphant, 800 merks; Oliver Sinclair, 500l. George Home lord of Ayton, 200l. Robert Erskine, son and heir to the lord Erskine, 200l. William Seton, 200 merks; Patrick Hepburn, 500 merks; James Pringle, 400 merks; James Sinclair, 100l. Alexander Sinclair, 100l. John Maitland, lord of Avon Castle, 200 merks; Henry Maxwell, brother to the lord Maxwell, 100l. John Ross lord Craigie, the lord Monkereth, William Monteith, lord of Carsy, 300 merks each; John Lesly, younger son to the earl of Rothes, 200 merks; John Carmichael, eldest son to the captain of Crawford, 200l. all sterling money. And it was agreed, that in case the English prisoners be taxed at a lower rate in Scotland, the sums above limited shall be abated in proportion: And likewise, that the prisoners of Scotland shall be used with such gentleness, as shall be shewed to the prisoners of England. This last clause would seem to make it evident, that the other Scottish prisoners here mentioned, were yet detained in captivity, except the seven noblemen first mentioned, and perhaps Oliver Sinclair. Keith.

vity,

vity, if, by such a day, they could not accomplish what they had promised. It cannot be denied, that the whole of this transaction was blameable. It gave the cardinal and the French party advantages which they could not have hoped for otherwise. The Scots, protestant as well as Roman catholic, who were zealous for the independency of their country, could not brook, that a few noblemen, and those not in a very honourable situation, should make the person of their queen, and the disposal of the government, the ransom of their captivity. The general hatred of the English co-operated with this resentment.

The noble captives having taken leave of Henry, dined with the prince of Wales at Enfield, on their return home; and Henry, as an earnest of his future government, sent along with them the earl of Angus, his two brothers, and his friends, who had been so long proscribed and exiled from their country. They were, at the same time, furnished with letters from Henry, addressed to the nobility of Scotland, requiring, that they should be admitted to all their honours and estates. About the middle of January, the noble captives and exiles arrived at Edinburgh; and communicated to the governor and nobility there, the commission with which they had been entrusted by Henry; together with an offer of safe-conduct to the deputies that might be sent from Scotland

Cardinal
Beaton im-
prisoned.

A. D. 1543.

A. D. 1543.

land to England, to settle the terms of the marriage. Upon mature deliberation, a parliament was summoned to meet on the twelfth of March; and it was resolved, to shut up cardinal Beaton in the prison of Blackness, upon a dark information of his inviting the French into Scotland; but, in reality, to prevent his intrigues against the marriage, which was, in itself, a measure far from being disagreeable to the Scotch nobility, though they disliked the terms with which it was accompanied. A disagreement among the cardinal's enemies, or some other cause, prevented his being brought to a trial. The regent, earl of Arran, thought very sensibly, that the part he had acted with regard to the late king's will, was sufficient to have convicted him of high treason; but neither that, nor any other specific charge was brought against him to justify his imprisonment. This can be accounted for no otherwise, than by the disgust which the nation had conceived at the terms stipulated with Henry by the noble captives; and Henry himself, in a dispatch he sent to Sadler, was at a loss to know the precise matter upon which the cardinal was imprisoned.

Sadler's Negotiations.

Proceedings of parliament.

Upon the meeting of parliament, the earl of Arran's appointment to the regency was confirmed; and the archbishop of Glasgow, who was then lord chancellor of the kingdom, opened the terms that had been brought from England, on the subject

A. D. 1543.

subject of the infant-queen's marriage; and laid before the assembly a plan of instructions for Sir James Learmouth of Balcomy, Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhair, and Mr. Henry Balnaves of Hall-hill, secretary of state. Those instructions, which are printed in Sadler's Negotiations, admitted of the marriage; but the queen was not to remove out of Scotland till of full age, on consummating the same; tho' Henry was at liberty to entertain, at his own expence, two gentlemen and two ladies as attendants upon her person; but no forts were to be put into his possession, during the minority. The parliament next proceeded to settle the governor's council, of which six members, at least, were to be present upon any resolution. The members were the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, Orkney, Ross, and Brechin; the abbots of Dumferling and Cowper; the earls of Angus, Huntly, Murray, Argyle, Bothwell, Marischal, Cassils, and Glencairn; the lords Erskine, Ruthven, Maxwell, Seton, and Methven; George Douglas, the provost of Aberdeen, Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Learmouth, the treasurer, the secretary, the clerk-register, the justice-clerk, and the queen's advocate. The earls Marischal, Montrose, the lords Erskine, Ruthven, Levingston, Lindsay, and Seton, together with the laird, or baron, of Calder, were to have the custody of the queen's person; but she

A. D. 1543. she was not to be transported from one place to another, without the consent of the queen-dowager, the governor, and lords of the council.

Earl of
Angus and
his friends
restored.

It must be acknowledged, that the above was an incoherent, ill-digested arrangement. Every check imposed upon the queen-dowager and the regent was injudicious; nor is it easy to perceive where the last resort of power lay. The consequences were soon felt. The parliament had restored the earl of Angus, his brother, Sir George Douglas, and all their friends, to their estates and honours, without any opposition being given by the regent, tho' he might easily have foreseen, that they would declare themselves the partisans of England. This clashed with a secret purpose he had of marrying the infant queen to his son, the lord Hamilton. He soon perceived, that the French party and the ecclesiastics were still very strong; and that though the cardinal was imprisoned, yet his spirit operated powerfully in the council, and in all public deliberations. That prelate's friends urged his being in prison against all law and justice, and even without any crime appearing against him. A man of more resolution than the regent possessed, would perhaps have brought the cardinal to public justice, for his inhuman, bloody administration, during the late reign; and we learn, from the state papers of the time, that Henry
and

A. D. 1543.

and the English council were still amazed that no specific accusation was brought against him. The earl of Arran had no firmness of mind to execute such a measure, and precipitately attached himself, at once, to the English party. Henry had sent Sir Ralph Sadler again to Scotland to manage the affair of the marriage; and it must be admitted, that on that occasion, the regent made amends for the defects of his courage and resolution, by his patriotism and loyalty. He received the ambassador with great cordiality, and professed himself devoted to the king his master; but he added a saving of his duty and allegiance to his sovereign lady, and the realm. Sadler, on the other hand, was instructed by Henry, to allure the regent by the most splendid proposals. He offered his daughter, the princess Elizabeth, in marriage to his son, the lord Hamilton; and to make the regent king of all Scotland beyond the Forth, if the French and ecclesiastical party should seize the person of the infant queen.

Though those offers, especially the last, were alluring, yet they did not shake the regent in his opposition to Henry's main designs, the delivery of the queen's person into his hands, together with the chief forts and castles of the kingdom. This honest conduct lost the regent-earl with both parties. He easily perceived, that if Henry succeeded in those two points, he might baffle him, as to the performance of

The regent
loses
ground.

A. D. 1543. his magnificent offers, and that he must be no more than a cypher in the government. But a storm now threatened his regency, that made him alter his measures.

Opposition
against him.

The earls of Huntley, Argyle, Murray, and Bothwell, who was lately returned to Scotland, summoned their friends to meet them at Perth, intending to turn the meeting into a convention of the states, and to set the cardinal at liberty, if needful, by force. The English party, under Sir George Douglas, took possession of the town; but though the meeting was thereby prevented, the same lords attended the parliament, where their party was too strong for them to dread any censure for their rash attempt. Sadler now perceived, that Henry could depend on nothing from the great party which he had formed at a very considerable expence in Scotland, but a conditional marriage between his son and the young queen, and the establishment of an amicable league between the two kingdoms. It was in vain for Sadler to threaten the Scots with all the miseries of a war, in case his terms were not complied with, and to repeat his promises to the regent. The voice of the people and nobility was for the independency of their country upon the king, courts of law, parliament, and constitutions of England; nor do I perceive, that the most abandoned tool which Henry had purchased in Scotland, had the courage, publicly, to insist upon
a com-

a compliance with his demands. This virtuous A.D. 1543
 obstinacy of the Scotch nobility suited ill with
 Henry's arbitrary temper, and violence of dis-
 position. Schemes were formed (and it is said
 the earl of Glencairn favoured, if he did not
 propose them) for clandestinely carrying the
 young queen and Beaton into England; but
 they proved abortive, through the vigilance
 of those who had the custody of both.

The regent and the lords of the council Treaty of
 still professed themselves willing to treat of the
 marriage, upon the terms prescribed by par-
 liament; and which Sir James Learmouth, with
 the other Scotch embassadors, had laid before
 Henry. That prince expressed great surprise at
 his disappointment, when he found the condi-
 tions fall so very short of what he had ex-
 pected from the promises of the Scotch pri-
 soners. He expostulated very sharply with the
 earl of Angus and his party on that head, both
 by letters, and the instructions he sent to Sadler.
 The answer given to that embassador, by Sir
 George Douglas, one of the warmest of Henry's
 partisans, is a lively description of the dispo-
 sitions of the Scots with regard to Henry's
 demands; for when Sadler expostulated with
 him on that subject, he told him, that any
 Scotchman who should agree to Henry's terms,
 would be pelted with stones by the boys, and
 mauled with distaffs by the women. He added,
 that the common people would rather die than
 agree to Henry's terms, and that they would
 be

D. 1543.

be opposed by all the clergy. Henry, convinced, at last, how impracticable his views were, issued a commission to the lord chancellor Audley, the duke of Norfolk, the bishops of Winchester and Westminster, the lord St. John, and Sir John Gage, all of them great officers of state, to treat of the marriage. The regent and the lords of the council nominated the earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas to be joined with their embassadors already in England. One part of the instructions was, after providing for the independency of Scotland, to insist, that should either Edward or Mary, or their heirs by the marriage, fail in any manner of way, (the words of the original) in that case, the next lawful Scottish heir was to enjoy the crown in as ample and independent a manner, as any former king of Scotland. And, lastly, as to the peace, although they were willing to agree to a perpetual one, yet was it to be on condition, that the debateable lands were equally divided, those between Teviotdale and England ascertained by proper boundaries and marches, Cannaby remaining still to the Scots. After some preliminaries were adjusted, a treaty was concluded on the first of July, and likewise a treaty of marriage. By the latter, the young queen was to receive two thousand pounds a year, from the time of the consummation of the marriage, during Henry's lifetime, and four thousand pounds after his death. The reader will find the other articles
in

in the notes *; but, in the mean while, the earl of Arran was to account to the prince of Wales for his intromissions of the revenues of Scotland, after deducting the expences of the queen's maintenance †. A. D. 1543.

* In the treaty of peace (which was to continue, during the joint lives of the two sovereigns, and one year after the demise of the first) though the king of England had laboured hard to have the ancient leagues betwixt France and Scotland annulled, and the two kingdoms in Britain to be friends to friends, and enemies to enemies, as the language at that time was, yet the article agreed upon, concerning that affair, contained no more, but that neither kingdom should give, or suffer to be given by their respective subjects, any manner of assistance to any foreign aggressor whatsoever, notwithstanding any leagues already contracted, or hereafter to be contracted or confirmed. And in the treaty of marriage, instead of the former high demands of king Henry, it is agreed, that the queen of Scots shall not be sent into England, until she be ten years of age compleat, during which space she shall remain in the tuition of certain of her own natural Scottish subjects; but that, in the mean time, it shall be lawful for the king of England to send a gentleman with his lady, or two more ladies and servants, to attend the young queen, and oversee her education and diet, provided, always, that this attendance exceed not twenty persons.

Item, That within two months after the date of the treaty, two earls and four lords, barons of Scotland, or their apparent heirs, shall be given as hostages to the king of England, for the performance of the delivery of the queen, and her marriage; and that if any of the hostages chance to die, their room to be supplied within two months after the said event shall be notified; and that it shall be lawful for the estates of Scotland to change the persons of the hostages once every six months, for other noblemen of the same rank and condition.

Item, That the kingdom of Scotland, even though the queen have issue by the prince of England, shall still retain its own proper name and title of kingdom of Scotland, and shall enjoy its own laws, privileges, and liberties. Keith.

† The lord Herbert says, that the French were excluded out of this treaty, which does not appear to be fact; and, probably, his lordship mistook a draught of the articles, for the treaty itself.

When

A. D. 1543.

justified.

When the terms of this marriage are candidly considered, they appear to be far less derogatory than some writers have represented them, to the honour or interests of Scotland. Henry had not only sacrificed the most material parts of his original demands to his earnest desire for the match, but had actually yielded to the Scots; whom, but a few months before, he affected to despise, all they could require, for preserving the liberties and independency of their country, not to mention the desirable circumstance of a lasting tranquillity between the two kingdoms; but those considerations, wise and patriotic as they were, were far from satisfying the French and ecclesiastical party. The reader, from the foregoing part of this history, may perceive, that France and Scotland had held the same friends, and the same enemies; or, more properly speaking, that the Scots considered the enemies of France as their own. The queen-mother began now to exert herself, and to display spirit and penetration in affairs of government. She had been informed by the noblemen (the lord Livingston particularly) who were appointed to attend her and her daughter, of the state of parties; and she learned with great satisfaction, how much many of the great noblemen disliked the peace. They laid hold of the circumstance of giving hostages, as being disgraceful to their country; and it must be owned, that it was the most disagreeable part of

of the treaty, and proved, that Henry had a very mean opinion of the public faith of Scotland. The ecclesiastics were still more interested than the nobles to oppose the treaty, as there was no doubt of its being the prelude to the loss of all their power, temporal as well as spiritual. Their cause was favoured by a revolution in the sentiments of the regent.

That nobleman may easily be supposed to have been no hearty friend to the English match; and the treaty was no sooner concluded, than he found himself (or at least he imagined so) neglected by Henry. He was greatly under the influence of his natural brother, the abbot of Paisley, who was in his heart a Frenchman, and entirely devoted to Beaton. He knew, that the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, and Murray, had not laid aside their design of delivering the cardinal by force; and that their party, when headed by the queen-mother and him, must be too strong for that of England. He threw out some intimations of his intending to enlarge the cardinal's confinement, to Sadler, who used all the arguments in his power to divert him from that resolution, but in vain. The lord Seton, who had the custody of the cardinal, was of the queen-dowager's party; and that aspiring priest, for some weeks past, had been at liberty to walk out, and to see and converse with any person he pleased. Sadler had complained of this to the regent, who laid the fault

The regent
neglected
by Henry.

A.D. 1543.

A. D. 1543.

Beaton set
at liberty.

fault on lord Seton ; but, soon after, he sent an order to that nobleman to carry his prisoner, with a guard of no more than twelve or sixteen men, to his castle of St. Andrew's ; which, in fact, was setting him at liberty, as the cardinal's domestics amounted to above three hundred men. The regent, though now fully resolved to join the French party, had still wanted to keep well with Henry. He pretended that his ordering Beaton to remove to St. Andrew's, was with an intention to get possession of that castle and all the cardinal's treasure. This was too flimsy an excuse to pass with Henry ; and the regent soon found himself, as he could have no dependence upon the English party, in a situation that obliged him to take the law from the queen-dowager and the cardinal. Sadler made repeated applications to have the cardinal sent into England, in order to facilitate the Reformation in Scotland ; to which the regent, at this time, pretended to be a great friend ; but, according to Sadler's own account, he answered him laughing, " Beaton had rather go to hell." And, indeed, it would be thought strange if I should send him into England, as, who should say, we were not able to punish his faults here. But, I assure you, added he, he shall be as surely kept here, as if he was with your master." This trifling obliged Sadler to remind the regent of his engagements with Henry, and the danger of chang-

changing his party ; but all was to no purpose. A.D. 1543.

Cardinal Beaton being now entirely at liberty, the first use he made of it was to call an assembly of the clergy at St. Andrew's ; in which he laid before them the danger arising to their order from the English match, and the necessity of raising a large sum of money for supporting a war with Henry. He met with a ready assent from the assembly ; for they engaged not only to put into his hands their private purses, but their church-plate. In the mean time, the irresolute regent had summoned a parliament to ratify the treaty with England, which, though it did not further his interest with Henry (who, in his letters to him, gave him no higher title than that of the earl of Arran, occupying the place of governor) yet it rendered him highly obnoxious to the queen-mother's and the cardinal's party. His relation, however, to the royal family, his possession of the regency, and his being declared next heir to the crown after the queen, made him of so much importance, that the politic cardinal resolved to give him a rival in the person of Matthew earl of Lenox.

Convokes
an assembly
of the
clergy.

That nobleman was the eldest son of the earl of Lenox, who had been killed in endeavouring to take James the fifth out of the hands of the Douglasses. He had been educated in France, and served with considerable reputa-

Account of
the earl of
Lenox.

A. D. 1543. tion in the French army. The gratefulness of his person, his courage, and the address he shewed in all the exercises that were then common, either in courts or camps, had rendered him a high favourite with Francis the first; but his chief merit, in the cardinal's eyes, lay in the irreconcilable enmity he bore to the Hamilton family, on account of his father's murder. In short, this young nobleman received a private invitation from the cardinal to repair to Scotland; and, if possible, to prevail with Francis to send along with him some troops and money. The cardinal, at the same time, informed him, that the legitimacy of the earl of Arran was very questionable*; that the late king had appointed him to the succession after his daughter's death; and that he knew no obstacles that could obstruct his obtaining the queen-mother in marriage.

* Matthew earl of Lenox had to wife a daughter of the lord Hamilton, by Mary daughter to James the second. By her he had his son and heir John, who was appointed a lord of the regency in the minority of king James the fifth, and was slain at the bridge of Linlithgow, by a party headed by the lord Hamilton, then become earl of Arran. John was father to Matthew the present earl of Lenox, whose pretensions to the crown stood thus. James earl of Arran, son to his father, by princess Mary Stuart daughter of James the second, (by virtue of whom the family of Hamilton have a claim to the royal succession) after he had been divorced from lady Elizabeth Home, had by his subsequent wife, James the present earl of Arran. Therefore the earl of Lenox alleged he was but a bastard, and that himself inherited the rights of the family of Hamilton, as being descended from a daughter of the princess Mary. See Keijth's Hist. p. 30. Note (a).

All those were powerful incentives to a mind susceptible of ambition, and bent upon revenge. Lenox applied to Francis, and laid before him the cardinal's invitation. Francis easily saw how much it was his interest to support the cardinal's party against England; but he was so much embarrassed by his wars with the emperor, that he could give him no immediate assistance. He gave him leave, however, to go to Scotland, promising to support him with money, and, if necessary, with troops. The earl of Lenox, the moment he arrived in Scotland, required the parliament to be held at Stirling or Perth, instead of Edinburgh. The regent continued to be so miserably indecisive as to the part he was to act, that he not only refused this, but insisted upon the ratification of the treaty with England; though, as his friends told him, there was not a nobleman, even of the English party, in Scotland, who would deliver himself up as a hostage in terms of the treaty.

Lenox, whom the clergy had flattered with being the true heir to the Hamilton estate, as well as the crown, upon this refusal, raised forces at Stirling, which belonged to the queen-dowager, and was commanded by the lord Erskine. The earl of Arran, who was no stranger to Lenox's pretensions, once more altered his conduct. He seemed fond of the Re-

who raised
troops.

D. 1543.

formation; he connected himself with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and the heads of the English party; and they persuaded him to order all who repaired to parliament, to come with an armed attendance; which all did, except the cardinal and the earl of Huntley, who did not appear. The former remained in his castle of St. Andrew's, and the latter pretended, that he was embroiled at home with the family of Forbes. We have in Sadler's Dispatches, a full account of this parliament's proceedings with regard to England. I am inclined, however, to suspect, that that minister, penetrating as he was, was either himself imposed upon, or wanted to set his own management in an advantageous light. Though Lenox and the churchmen vigorously opposed the ratification of the treaty, yet by Sadler's address, and that of Sir George Douglas, and the other lords who had been gained over by Henry's money and favours, the treaty and all its articles were ratified; and the regent, the better to carry through the measure of the hostages, said, that he was ready to send his own eldest son to be educated in England, till he was of age to marry the princess Elizabeth; a declaration that shews him to have renewed his engagements with Henry. With regard to the point for which that prince had so much contended, that France should be excluded out
of

of the treaty, all that could be obtained was, that Scotchmen should be at liberty to serve in the English armies against the French. A. D. 1543.

The truth is, the whole of the proceedings in this assembly, exhibit a scene of dissimulation hardly to be matched in history. The earls of Argyle and Murray pretended to favour the marriage; but would by no means accept of English gold, or vote for any other English measure. Even the queen-mother seemed satisfied with the match; and the cardinal himself made such advances to Sadler, that he believed him to be disposed towards Henry's measures. The earls of Lenox and Bothwell seem to have been the only noblemen in the meeting, who acted without disguise. Both of them aspired to the honour of marrying the queen-mother, and both of them declared loudly, and without reserve, against the treaty with England. When they perceived that the majority of the assembly inclined to ratify it, they left Edinburgh, and raised men to act as occasion should offer; but the earl of Bothwell is said to have encouraged the Armstrongs of Liddersdale to invade England. In the beginning of August, the Anti-Anglican party had carried off the queen-mother, and the queen her daughter, from Linlithgow to Stirling; and the earl of Glencairn, with Sir George Douglas, were sent to London to lay before Henry the proceedings of the

The marriage treaty
ratified.

A. D. 1543.

the convention of the states, and to receive his farther directions. Henry ordered Sadler to pay a visit to the cardinal, who remained still in the castle of St. Andrew's; but so unpopular was the English party in Scotland, that Sadler durst not venture to cross the Forth. The cardinal had acted with so much address, that he now became the umpire of all parties; but the regent thought it high time that he should declare which party he was to espouse. On the very day that he had signed the articles with England, he marched northwards to St. Andrew's, on pretence that he was to receive possession of that castle from the cardinal. The politic prelate shut himself up in the place, and refused to give the regent even a meeting; which the latter resented so far, that he ordered him to be proclaimed a rebel, and immediately returned to Edinburgh, that he might raise an army to reduce him by force.

The regent declares for the cardinal and the French party.

There is great reason to think, that all this pretended vigour of the regent, who at the same time summoned the earl of Lenox to surrender the castle of Dumbarton, which he refused to do, had been secretly concerted between him and the cardinal to amuse the English ambassador, till they could obtain assistance from France, which the queen-mother and cardinal were hourly soliciting. Without entering into all the detail of negotiations, promises, breach of promises, assemblies, and consultations,

A.D. 1543.

fultations, which terminated in nothing, and therefore can give no instruction to the reader; it is sufficient to say, that the cardinal, by means of his creature the abbot of Paisley, found means, at last, to fix (as far as so irresolute a temper could be fixed) the regent in his interest. The abbot represented to him how little trust he could put in Henry; the danger he himself was in of being declared illegitimate, and consequently losing his estate; the power of the Anti-Anglican party, and the probability of their substituting the earl of Lenox in his room. Two agents sent to him by the cardinal, confirmed all those suggestions; and on the third of September, no more than eight days after he had solemnly ratified the treaty with England, he left Edinburgh, on pretence of visiting his lady in the castle of Blackness, but in reality to meet the cardinal at Callendar, one of lord Livingston's seats, where he renounced all his engagements with England, and entered warmly into the interests of the opposite party. As a mark of his sincerity, he dismissed his two noted chaplains, who had been converts from the church of Rome, and had been zealous preachers for the Reformation.

The cardinal having made this valuable acquisition, now altered his plan of conduct with regard to the earl of Lenox. He had observed that nobleman's disposition, and found it not fit

He neglects
Lenox.

A. D. 1543.

fit for his purpose, being not sufficiently ductile, and presuming too much on his magnificent pretensions, and the promises he had received. He therefore resolved to lay him aside. Previous to that act of ingratitude, he took care to persuade the regent to a step which must irretrievably ruin his credit with all the Reformed in Scotland, whose numbers were daily encreasing; for he prevailed upon him to abjure the doctrine of the Reformation in the Franciscan church at Stirling. While this scene of apostacy was transacting, the earls of Angus, Cassils, Glencairn, and Marshal, with the lords Maxwell, Gray, Somervel, and other heads of the English party, were raising troops to attack those of the cardinal, who were encamped near Stirling, and were numerous, and in high spirits. The defection of the regent was so far from daunting the English party, that it served to unite them the more; and the members entered into an association to oppose the cardinal and the regent, if they refused or neglected to fulfil the terms of the treaty with Henry. They were the more encouraged to this, as Henry had given orders for seizing several Scotch ships that were trading to France. Henry imagined that those seizures would induce the representatives of the great burghs in Scotland, to vote for the treaty with England; but this was so far from being the case, that the merchants refused to have their ships and cargoes

cargoes redelivered to them on such a condition. By this time the young queen was crowned at Stirling, and some overtures were made for a coalition of parties; which seems to have been the more practicable, as the English lords themselves declined to execute the capital article in the treaty with Henry, that of sending hostages into England. A new council was formed, consisting of the queen-dowager, the cardinal, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishops of Murray, Orkney, Galloway, the abbot of Paisley, who had been appointed privy-seal, and the abbot of Cowper for the clergy; the earls of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, Glencairn, Lenox, Bothwell, and Marshal for the nobles. By this constitution, the regent, who swore to govern by the advice of the new council, became little better than a cypher in the administration, which was directed by the queen-dowager and the cardinal. The earls of Angus and Glencairn knew that they were taken into the council only to please their party, and to prevail on them to vote for the court, in a convention which was soon to be held at Edinburgh, for composing the internal commotions of the kingdom. They therefore stuck by their friends, and hostilities were daily committed between the two nations on the borders.

It must be owned, that the seizures of the Scotch ships, which were made after the peace

A. D. 1543.

The queen crowned.

The Scots complain of the English.

A. D. 1543. was proclaimed in both nations, and before the expiration of the two months stipulated for the mutual exchange of the treaties, gave the government a very just cause of complaint. All the answer returned by the English court was, that the ships were carrying provisions to its enemies the French, and that the crews had spoken disrespectfully of the regent and the English party. To this it was answered, on the part of the regent, that the ships were only laden with fish; that the treaty did not prohibit the subjects of Scotland from carrying on their trade as usual; and that as to the disrespectful words alledged, they were cognizable only by the civil courts of Scotland. The cardinal then peremptorily demanded of the English ambassador, whether his master would ratify the treaties, provided hostages were delivered; and whether he would restore the ships, and give satisfaction for the disorders that had been committed by the English on the borders? Sadler replied, that he could not call upon his master to make any such declaration, unless the council of Scotland authorized him to say, that they would literally fulfil the words of the treaties. The council rejoined, that they must first know the sentiments of the king. This is the substance of what passed on this occasion. Sadler mentions several other particulars, and seems, indeed, to have been of opinion, that the detention of the Scotch ships was

was irregular; but, on the other hand, I cannot perceive, that the regent and the cardinal had ever offered the full number of hostages that had been stipulated by the treaty; for they only mentioned three or four of the noblemen who had been prisoners. It appears, that the cardinal and queen-mother alledged, that the whole of the treaty, especially that part of it relating to the hostages, was a collusive act between Henry and his party in Scotland; and that the ratification of it in the Scotch parliament had been obtained by indirect means, and therefore did not bind the government to observance.

Upon the breaking up of the council, the citizens of Edinburgh, who had been the chief sufferers by the detention of the ships, and, indeed, the public in general, considered all farther mention of the treaty as being at an end, and that hostilities were as good as declared. Sadler had orders to retire to Tantallon, a strong fort belonging to the earl of Angus; but he found himself a prisoner in his own house, by the citizens of Edinburgh, who had likewise made themselves masters of some English merchant ships in the port of Leith. An attempt to assassinate Sadler was made at the same time; but this cannot be justly charged upon the Scotch government, when we reflect upon the inveterate animosities still subsisting between the two nations, aggravated by Henry's

A breach
with Eng-
land.

A. D. 1543. ry's late proceedings, and that no country is without its enthusiasts.

Proceed-
ings of the
English
party in
Scotland.

The daily accounts that arrived of Henry's preparations to invade Scotland, occasioned the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the heads of that party to remove to St. Andrew's, while the earl of Angus and the English party took possession of Edinburgh, and freed Sadler from his confinement. That embassador pressed them to surprize the regent and the cardinal, and either deliver them up to his master, or deprive them of their offices. The answer returned was, that the castle of St. Andrew's, where they resided, was not to be surprized; and that the regent could not be removed but by the authority of the parliament, which had invested him with his office. Sadler then proposed, that a new council should be appointed, and the young queen's person delivered into the custody of eight lords. This they declared was likewise impracticable, as the castle of Stirling, where she resided, was well provided with men, ammunition, and artillery, and they were in no condition to take it; and that if they were, her keepers would carry her to the most inaccessible parts of the Highlands. From this short sketch of the conversation, it appears pretty evidently, that those lords were far from being so sanguine in Henry's interest as his embassador imagined; and that the latter, or rather his court, from which he received
his

his instructions, was but ill informed as to the A. D. 1543⁶
dispositions of the Scots. This conference happened on the fourth of October. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, the English lords, as they were called, met at Douglas-Castle, and drew up a paper, which was to be carried to the English court by the lord Somervel, notifying to Henry the association they had entered into for his service, provided he would support them with men and money. The lord Somervel was intercepted with this paper, and committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, as was the lord Maxwell, one of the leaders of that party. But an incident happened at this time, that revived their spirits.

I have already mentioned the ingratitude of the cardinal towards the earl of Lenox, after he had secured the regent. Lenox had kept up a correspondence with the French court, unknown to the cardinal; and was considered by Francis, as the main prop of his interest in Scotland. He was deceived; for Lenox had many motives which induced him to join with the earl of Angus and his party. One of them, which afterwards took place, was his having an eye upon a marriage with the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Angus, and niece to Henry. While he was in a deep consultation with the English party at Edinburgh, intelligence came, that seven stout French ships were seen off the mouth of the Clyde.

The French
land in
Scotland

A. D. 1543.

Clyde. Henry had suspected that such a squadron would be sent with men and money for the French party in Scotland, and had ordered Poinz to cruize off Dumbarton with some English ships; but being called off from his station, the French landed, and Peter Contarini, the patriarch of Venice, as legate from pope Paul the third, and La Brosse, the French embassador, came on shore. Lenox had the most early intelligence of their arrival, and that they had brought along with them thirty thousand crowns, besides a large quantity of warlike stores, which were to be divided as the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and himself, thought proper; a proof that his defection to the English party was not known to the French king, when this squadron sailed. Lenox, without losing an instant of time, posted to Dumbarton, and persuaded Stuart of Cardonnock, who had the custody of the money, to deposit it, with the warlike stores, in the castle of Dumbarton, which belonged to Lenox. He then attended the legate and La Brosse to Glasgow.

with a legate

and money,

which Lenox seizes.

The news of this expedition struck the cardinal and the queen-mother with the utmost dismay, and they vainly hoped to reclaim Lenox to their party. Lenox was too quick-sighted not to perceive their drift; but tho' he came to Stirling-castle, where the court was then held, all the magnificent promises made him

A.D. 1543.

him by the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the French embassador, could not prevail upon him to refund the money; though Buchanan says, (I believe without good grounds) that he gave part of it to the queen-dowager. Notwithstanding this disappointment, La Brosse was impowered by his master to promise pensions and gratuities to all the chief persons in Scotland, who should declare against the English; that six thousand Danes should be sent to their assistance; and that they should be supplied with money sufficient to raise and pay ten thousand national troops. Though the performance of those promises was distant, they had incredible effects; for Sadler, at that time, informed his master, that however favourable the sentiments of the lords of the English party were with regard to Henry's claims, none of them could bring two followers into the field to back them, should they declare themselves openly.

About the beginning of December, the Scotch parliament again sat; but, by this time, the castle of Dalkeith, belonging to the earl of Morton, and that of Pinky, which belonged to Sir George Douglas, were taken by the regent. He ordered the English embassador, who resided at Tantallon, either to return to court, or leave the kingdom: but he refused to do either; and when the parliament sat down, none

The parliament meets.

A. D. 1543.

and renews
the league
with
France.

none had the courage to espouse the English interest. The abbot of Paisley, privy-seal, who made a great figure in this meeting, was now declared lord-treasurer, in the room of Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, who openly favoured the Reformation. The queen's advocate was ordered to prosecute the nobility and others who had signed the association at Douglas-castle ; and an act of indemnity passed for the lords and others who had carried the young queen to Stirling. On the eleventh of the same month, the parliament declared the treaties of peace and marriage with England to be at an end, and not to be kept on the part of Scotland. This act of nullity is still extant, and throws the blame entirely upon Henry, who had refused to ratify the treaties, or to indemnify the Scots for the loss of their ships. The next day La Brosse and Menage, counsellor of the parliament of Rouen, ambassadors from France, were introduced into the assembly, where they declared, that they had full power from their master, to renew the antient leagues between the two kingdoms, and to offer his assistance for the defence of the young queen and her kingdom, against the king of England. Their speech was heard with great approbation ; and the cardinal, the earls of Argyle and Murray, the lord St. John, and Sir Adam Otterburn, or any two of them, were

were appointed to treat with the embassadors A. D. 1543.
for ratifying former, and entering upon new
alliances.

It is certain, that Henry did not properly support his party on this occasion. The earl of Angus was in the field with a body of men, whom he could not keep together for want of money; and the earl of Lenox was still indetermined as to the part he was to act, not knowing Henry's mind concerning his marriage with his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas. The name of that nobleman, with those Removals.
of the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Mar-
shal, were struck out of the list of counsellors to the regent; and their places were filled up with the lords Fleming, Ruthven, St. John, and Sir John Campbel of Calder. The great seal was taken from the archbishop of Glasgow, and accepted of by the cardinal, who, in fact, seems to have had more power than the regent himself. Such were the proceedings of this parliament, if it can be so called. The truth is, that the parliaments of Scotland were, by this time, so degenerated, that all their business was generally left to the committee of the lords of the articles. The parliament was indeed summoned; but it was commonly dissolved or adjourned in two or three days, after empowering the lords of the articles, whose radical power was derived from the crown and the clergy, to turn the articles

A. D. 1543. or bills they had prepared into acts. It was even in the power of the crown, upon an emergency, to summon a certain number of each state, to call them by prerogative, and to prescribe to them the matters they were to enact. Those observations are here the more necessary, as the bulk of the nation, and a majority of the nobility and gentry, were, at the time I treat of, undoubtedly inclined to the Reformation; and had a fair parliament been called, and each member suffered to give his voice, the cardinal and his clergy never could have gained their ends. The regent exercised all the acts of sovereignty, the same as if he had been king; and, as he was devoted to the cardinal, the reason of his success in parliament is easily accounted for. This partial, absurd, constitution of the legislature, undoubtedly contributed to the violences which introduced the Reformation in Scotland, as it was impossible that it could be then amended; for it subsisted long, even after the two crowns were united in the person of James the sixth.

Hereticks
prosecuted.

1544.

The cardinal, to complete his triumph over the regent, had brought him to propose in the late meeting of the states, that all prelates should prosecute heretics; and the motion passed (so far, as I can find) unanimously. In the beginning of the year 1544, all parties were in arms. The cardinal had informed the French king of Lenox's defection. He had sent ambassadors to
all

A. D. 1543.

all the powers of the continent, especially Denmark, and the states that were then at variance with England, to solicit succours, and to notify the war between the two nations. He had employed cardinal Carpi, who was protector of Scotland, at the court of Rome, to intercede with the pope for assistance, without which, he said, the catholic religion must be entirely ruined in Scotland. In short, he omitted no duty incumbent upon a provident statesman, that could enable him to face the impending storm. He had two powerful enemies to encounter, the English party in Scotland, and the English themselves, who were now making the most formidable preparations for an invasion. Whatever the demerits of the cardinal might be as a persecuting churchman, it is certain, that his opponents in Scotland acted as traitors to their country, by putting themselves in the pay of Henry. It appears from Sir Ralph Sadler's letters, that the earl of Angus received two hundred pounds, and the earls of Glencairn and Cassils two hundred merks sterling each; the lord Maxwell's eldest son a hundred pounds, Sir George Douglas and his friends two hundred pounds, and the earl of Angus had a hundred pounds a month, which he insisted should be made up two hundred pounds, for the use of the party. Such were the infamous conditions upon which those noblemen stipulated for the subjection of their

Scotchmen
pensioners
of England.

A. D. 1544. country to Henry; promising, at the same time, that if the regent would not agree to the marriage, they would shew Henry an easy way to conquer [all Scotland to the south of the Forth; and that they would put the places they were in possession of into his hands. Sadler's dispatches, however, leave it not a little doubtful, whether they intended to perform what they promised; for the whole of their applications to Henry and his ministers, terminated in farther demands of money to enable them to serve him.

Lenox joins
the English
party.

The earl of Lenox now took the lead in the opposition to the cardinal, who had raised an army to surprize and force the earl of Lenox to refund the French money. A meeting of the pensioned lords (for such I must call them) was held at Aire, in the West of Scotland, where the Reformation had made considerable progress, and the regent was held in the utmost contempt for his pusillanimity and irresolution. It was there determined to raise an army to be commanded by the earl of Lenox; which, by the dispositions of the neighbouring inhabitants, and the power of the French money, was easily done; and Lenox directly marched for Leith, where the regent's army was assembled, in hopes of seizing both him and the cardinal. This, in all probability, must have been the consequence, had not the cardinal prevailed with the earl of Huntley to mediate for

for an accommodation, as the regent's army A.D. 1544. was no way comparable to that of Lenox. A conference between the latter and the regent at Edinburgh, was accordingly agreed upon; and the cardinal, by this delay, gained his point. The admitting this negociation was undoubtedly a most unpardonable weakness in Lenox, who might chuse to avoid bloodshed, and perhaps was still in some hopes of marrying the queen-mother; for I do not perceive, that Henry had as yet given his consent to his marrying lady Margaret Douglas. Some days passed in trifling conferences; and it is no wonder if Lenox forfeited the esteem of his friends and followers on this occasion. Many of them had served upon their own expences, which they could no longer continue, and returned home even before the conferences were ended; foreseeing, that the least delay must be fatal to their undertaking. As to Lenox, he behaved towards the regent in the same friendly manner as if no difference had ever subsisted; but he was grossly outwitted in the negotiation; for, instead of prescribing, he was obliged to accept of terms from the cardinal. I am inclined, with Buchanan, to believe, that a secret correspondence was, at this time, carrying on between the regent and the pensioned lords; for the result of the conferences was, that an accommodation (though we know not the precise conditions) should take place between the regent

A.D. 1544.

gent and Lenox; and that the earl of Glencairn's eldest son and Sir George Douglas should be given as hostages for the due performance of the agreement on the part of the lords. Upon leaving Edinburgh, the regent and Lenox went to Linlithgow, where the latter beginning to suspect the secret intrigues carrying on against him, (which very possibly were meant only to get possession of his money) posted privately to Glasgow, where he gave orders for fortifying the archbishop's palace, and from thence to his own castle of Dumbarton. The regent pretended that this secession was a breach of the late accommodation, assembled his army, and marched directly to Glasgow. Though Lenox had sunk greatly in the esteem of his party, yet the earl of Glencairn gallantly supplied his place; and being joined by the barons of Tullibardine, Houston, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumwhashile, and others of the shire of Renfrew, gave battle to the regent, who, after a long, bloody dispute, remained conqueror. Monypenny, who commanded the foot, with other persons of distinction, on the part of Lenox, were killed on the spot. The provost of Glasgow was dangerously wounded; but the earl of Glencairn escaped to Dumbarton. No person of note, but a gentleman of the name of Cambuskeith, was killed on the part of the regent. The slaughter fell chiefly on the citizens of Glasgow;

A battle,
in which
the regent
is victo-
rious.

gow; who, as heretics and rebels, received little or no quarter. The regent after this besieged the castle and the great tower; and having reduced them, he hanged eighteen of the garrison. A. D. 1544

Lenox was greatly disabled by those repeated blows; and well knowing that his interest was entirely ruined at the court of France, found himself under a necessity either of accommodating matters with the regent, or of throwing himself and his interests under the king of England's protection. He attempted the former, and employed the earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell as his mediators. They found the task more difficult than they had imagined. The cardinal had got so entire an ascendancy over the regent, that, instead of listening to the mediators, he sent them prisoners to his own castle of Hamilton; nor was Angus relieved from his confinement before the English invaded Scotland. Lenox had now no choice. His brother, the lord D'Aubigny in France, had fallen under that king's displeasure, and was imprisoned on his account; and therefore, on the eighth of April, he and the earl of Glencairn, sent Hugh Cunningham, and Thomas Bishop, secretary to Lenox, from Dumbarton, to treat with the English commissioners, who were the lord Wharton and Sir Robert Bowes, at Carlisle. From this it is reasonable to conclude, that Lenox had for some time

A. D. 1544. time carried on a secret correspondence with the English court; which was, perhaps, not unknown to the regent, and might be the means of his treating the earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell with such severity. A contract was accordingly signed on the seventeenth of May this year, by which the earl of Glencairn bound himself, for the earl of Lenox, to serve Henry in all his attempts against their country. The reader shall judge for himself, whether this was not a most infamous agreement. It consisted of eight articles, which, on the twenty-sixth of June, were signed likewise by the earl of Lenox, and are as follow:

First, The earl of Lenox will be king Henry's subject and servant, and serve him against all that shall impugn his grace's title in Scotland, or elsewhere.

Secondly, That he will surrender into his majesty's hands the castle of Dumbarton, as also the Isle of Bute, and help him to win the castle of Rothsay there.

Thirdly, that when the king, having the direction of the realm of Scotland, shall have made him governor, the said earl shall never call parliaments, nor do any matter of any great moment, without the king's advice.

Fourthly, that he shall foresee that his pro-nepte (niece) be not conveyed out of Scotland; but to strive to get her person into his custody, and to deliver her into the king's hands.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, That because the king hath, upon his earnest suit, given him leave to marry his grace's niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, the said earl bindeth himself to endow her with the yearly jointure of five hundred merks sterling.

Sixthly, That the king, in consideration of the losses which the said earl shall sustain in France by this agreement, will give him and his heirs possession in England of seventeen hundred merks sterling.

Seventhly, That the king will aid the said earl in Scotland for two or three months with five hundred men, besides such men as his grace will send to take and keep Dumbarton. And lastly, That the king having obtained the rule and direction of the kingdom, will constitute the said earl governor.

The reverend (called by some, the right reverend) Mr. Keith complains, with great justice, of the inaccuracy and unchronological state of the Scotch history at this time; so that we have no other lights for arranging facts, than the dates of records. It is generally agreed, that Henry finding he had failed in his attempt of bringing about the marriage, insisted upon the Scotch nobility, whom he had dismissed from the prisons of England, either to pay their ransoms, or to return to their confinements. The ransoms were set so high, that their private estates could not raise them; and the car-

A. D. 1544. dinal, for very obvious reasons, opposed their being paid out of the public money, on pretence, that the national interest was to take place of all other considerations. The earl of Cassils disdained his priestly sophistry, and generously returned to his confinement; from which Henry nobly released him, with his two brothers, without any ransom. The earl of Lenox was deservedly forfeited, and declared an enemy to his country; and on the nineteenth of January, the regent sent a letter to Henry, desiring safe-conducts for the bishop of Orkney, the lord St. John, Sir John Campbel of Calder, and Sir Adam Otterburn. This letter, which is still extant, is written with considerable spirit. The regent boasts of the perfect unanimity which appeared among the nobility, and all ranks of men in Scotland, to resent any indignity that might be offered to their country; and is willing to treat of an accommodation through the abovementioned commissioners. Henry, who was, by this time, thoroughly exasperated, paid no regard to this application. He was seconded by his parliament, who furnished him with ample supplies for carrying on a war both against France and Scotland. The earl of Hertford, uncle to the prince of Wales, a general of unquestioned courage, and some experience, was named to the command of the land army that was raised to invade Scotland, and which was to consist of

He is declared a traitor.

of ten thousand (some records say twenty thousand) men, and the earl of Shrewsbury was to be next to him in command. Dudley lord Lisle was appointed admiral of the fleet, consisting of two hundred sail. To avoid the inconveniences and miscarriages of former campaigns, Dudley was ordered to embark the troops at Newcastle, and to land them in the neighbourhood of Leith, where they were to be joined by four thousand horse and foot from Berwick, under the lord Evers. The landing was accordingly effected at a place called Grant-ham Craig, near Leith, on the fourth of May; and the troops being debarked, were formed into three divisions. The first was commanded by the admiral, the second by the general, and the third by the earl of Shrewsbury. In a few days they began their operations, and laid waste all the adjacent part of the country.

Though the Scotch nation was never more unanimous than they were at this time against the English, yet the bloody unpopular conduct of the cardinal disunited their public spirit, and rendered all their efforts languid. As the forfeitures of the earl of Lenox, and his followers, had brought large sums into the government, and had ruined many families, the regent shared in the cardinal's unpopularity; but, to do justice to both, they behaved with great spirit. Embassadors and ministers were sent to France and Denmark, and other courts

Embassie
sent for
sistance
from the
continen

A. D. 1544. in alliance with Scotland, to complain of Henry's injustice and violence, and to solicit succours. The French king made them magnificent promises, which were but poorly performed; and all that the regent could do, was to assemble about twelve thousand men. The cardinal proposed to fight the English with this force, between Leith and Edinburgh; but the regent, not daring to depend upon his troops, stood on the defensive, and the English desolated all the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

the Eng-
h take
d burn
inburgh;

As no formal declaration of war had been made, Sir Adam Otterburn, provost or chief magistrate of that metropolis, repaired to the English camp, and demanded by what authority they had begun hostilities, offering, at the same time, quiet admittance into the town, in a friendly manner. He was answered by the general, that he was commissioned to burn and lay waste the country, unless the young queen of Scotland was delivered into his master's hands. To this Sir Adam replied, that his countrymen, rather than yield to such a demand, were determined to stand all extremities. By this time the English ordnance was landed, and the lord Evers had joined the main body of their army with the four thousand horse from Berwick*; and the regent retired with his army towards Linlithgow. The English failed in their first attempt to enter Edinburgh

* Some say six thousand,

by Leith gate; but the inhabitants, discouraged A. D. 1544.
 by the regent's retreat, abandoned the town in
 the night-time, and the English battering down
 the gates with their cannon, barbarously set it
 on fire, and the burning continued for three
 entire days. They next laid siege to the cas- but are re-
pulsed by
the castle.
 tle, which was bravely defended by Hamilton
 of Stenhouse, who plied them so warmly with
 his artillery from the half-moon, which then,
 as now, commanded the west part of the town,
 that he dismounted their batteries, killed a num-
 ber of their men, and forced the rest to an in-
 glorious retreat towards Leith. Though this
 was an open town, it was, at that time, the great
 emporium of foreign trade for the southern
 parts of Scotland. The English most unman-
 fully revenged themselves for the repulse they
 had met with, broke up and plundered all the
 warehouses; and the riches they carried from
 thence, far exceeded their expectations, and
 all the ideas they had formed of the foreign
 commerce of Scotland. The earl of Hertford
 then ordered the town to be set on fire on the
 thirteenth of May, and the shipping in the har-
 bour to be seized, particularly the Salamander
 and the Unicorn, which were famous for their
 largeness and beauty (or, as Mr. Stow the
 English historian calls it, their notable fairness):
 But affairs had now taken a different turn.

The earl of Angus, at the time of the Eng-
 lish invasion, was a prisoner in the castle of
 Blackness.

A. D. 1544.

The earl of
Angus de-
clares a-
gainst them.

Blackness. He could not, without the greatest indignation, hear that Lenox had eclipsed all his credit at the court of England; that he was become a leading favourite with Henry in all the affairs of Scotland; and that he was to have the hand of his daughter in marriage, without his being paid the compliment of having his consent asked. His brother Sir George Douglas, lord Maxwell, and the other noblemen in the same party, fell in with his sentiments; and the regent having delivered them from their confinements, they joined him with all their friends and followers; so that while the English were plundering Leith, the regent was at the head of a considerable army, which advanced to give the English battle. It must be acknowledged, that the whole of this expedition was concerted without foresight, and executed without effect; farther than what was attended by robbing, plundering, and burning a number of defenceless houses. In short, the retreat of the English was, at once, inglorious and inhuman. Their general, without venturing to wait for the regent, proceeded in his ravages, and ordered the mole, or pier, of Leith to be demolished. He next divided his army into two parts. He put the one on board his ships, with instructions to sweep all the Scotch harbours, in their return, of all their contents, fishing, as well as trading, vessels, even down to common boats; which orders were punctually obeyed.

The

The other part of the English army marched, by land, towards Berwic; and in their way burnt Seton, Dunbar, Haddington, Renton, and a number of other defenceless places. Why they did not suffer more loss in their retreat, is difficult to say; for Sir James Balfour makes the whole amount to two hundred and twenty men, and some prisoners. I am of opinion, that the late converts to the regent, and perhaps he himself, were not fond of pursuing a retreating enemy; and that the reconciliation was not so well consolidated, as that the regent could, in case of a battle, give any command of importance to Angus and his friends. It is likewise not at all improbable, the country was so effectually laid waste, that the Scotch army, had they pursued their enemies far, could not have found subsistence. The reader, to be convinced of this, needs but to throw his eye upon the subjoined note *. Upon the retreat of the English army, the lord Evers made a fresh irruption into Scotland, where he took and fortified Coldinghame. The regent's army consisted of about twelve thousand men, who were provided with no more than eight days victuals. He however besieged Coldinghame; but the

A. D. 1544.

The English return ingloriously.

Balfour, MSS.

* Towns, towers, stedes, barnekyns, paryshe-churches, bastel-houses cast down or burnt, 192; Scots slain, 403; prisoners taken, 816; nolt, i. e. horned cattle, taken, 10,386; sheep, 12,492; nags and geldings, 1,296; goats, 200; bolls of corn, 850; insight-gear, i. e. household furniture, not reckoned.

Hayne's State Papers, 43.

A.D. 1544. weather proving excessively sharp, and the troops continuing all night drawn up in array, in expectation of being attacked by the English in the morning, the regent, apprehensive that the earl of Angus, and the lords of his party who were with him, intended to deliver him up as a prisoner to the English, suddenly left the army, and posted to Dunbar. This cowardly retreat threw the whole of the Scotch army into the utmost consternation; and they must have either rendered their artillery useless, or have abandoned it to the enemy, when the earl of Angus gallantly took upon himself the command, and prevented the army from disbanding. He, his brother, and his friends alighted on foot, and swore they would either carry the queen's artillery back safe, or die in defending it. He then drew up their troops in proper order to bring the artillery to the castle of Dunbar; which he did, the English generals not venturing to attack him.

Brave action of
Angus.

The earl of Hertford, and Henry's other generals, who were employed in this ill-concerted expedition, took care to conceal from him every circumstance that could give him uneasiness. Though he had been at an immense expence, and had projected no less than the acquisition, if not the conquest of Scotland, yet his army had brought back nothing but plunder and disgrace. The public of England observed, that they had done too much for a courtship,

courtship, and too little for a conquest; but the dread of Henry's severity stifled all open discontent. The lord Evers, and his lieutenant-general Sir Brian Latoun, had obliged the inhabitants of Teviotdale, the Merse, and other southern parts of Scotland, to wear red crosses, as badges of their being subjects to England; and Evers posted to court, where he informed Henry, that the inhabitants of all Scotland to the south of the Forth were his subjects; and that he was entitled to a considerable reward for his services. Henry consulted the duke of Norfolk, who advised him to gratify Evers and his lieutenant-general with a grant under the great seal of England, of all the lands they had conquered, which were esteemed to be the most populous and fruitful of any, then, in Scotland, and to erect them into two lordships; to which Henry agreed.

The earl of Lenox, upon the English fleet's sailing from Scotland, was carried by one of their ships, with his brother, the bishop of Caithness, to West Chester, from whence he went to the court of London. Henry was now fully exasperated against the Scots. Nothing was so common in his mouth as, that since he could not obtain, he would chastise; and that as he could not get a wife for his son, he would add a kingdom to his dominions. He was the more intent upon this project, as he had lately concluded with the emperor a treaty for conquer-

Infamous
conduct of
Lenox, in
concluding

A. D. 1544

ing all France, which he was to attempt in his own person. The plan was, that the emperor should invade that kingdom on one quarter, and Henry on another; and that both princes, without amusing themselves with sieges, should march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and complete their conquest. Nothing could be more flattering to Henry, on such an occasion, than to have, in the person of Lenox, a nobleman whom he could entirely trust with his concerns in Scotland; and soon after Lenox's arrival, he ordered on the twenty-sixth of June, the lord chancellor Wriothesly, the duke of Suffolk, and secretary Paget, to enter into a fresh treaty with him, by way of supplement to that which had been concluded at Carlisle, which was, at the same time, confirmed. As the terms of this treaty were, if possible, still more infamous than those of Carlisle, I shall here faithfully give the substance of them, from the original printed by Mr. Rymer.

Rymer's
Fœdera,
vol. 15.
p. 28.

a treaty.

By the first article, the treaty of Carlisle is confirmed, for the tranquillity of the realm of Scotland, and the safety of the earl of Lenox and his friends against the cardinal, the earl of Arran, and their confederates. By the second, the earl becomes Henry's faithful servant and subject, against all princes and states who should impugn his majesty's titles and authority in Scotland, and elsewhere. The earl, by the third article, engages to put into his majesty's

majesty's hands the castle of Dumbarton, with the Isle of Bute, and to assist him in reducing the castle of Ross. By the fourth article, when Henry has the direction of Scotland, (that is, when he shall become king of it) the earl of Lenox was to govern it under him; but without any power to call a parliament, or to violate the laws of the realm, or to transact matters of great consequence, without the king's consent; and he is to break all covenants, either with foreigners or fellow-subjects, that are inconsistent with his engagements to Henry. The fifth article obliges the earl to do his utmost to prevent the king's niece (meaning queen Mary) from being carried out of the kingdom; and he was to endeavour, if possible, to put her person into Henry's hands. A. D. 1544.

The stipulations Henry agreed to, by way of indemnification to the earl, were, that he should give him and his heirs possessions in England, to the value of fifteen hundred merks sterling a year. He was to lend the earl five hundred men for two or three months, to be employed in Scotland as he and his friends should think proper. When the earl became governor of Scotland, his dignity was to be maintained, the young queen was to be supported, and the officers of state were to be paid out of the public revenue. The last article, which is very remarkable, runs as follows: "And whereas George Stirling of Gloret, for services done

A. D. 1544. the earl of Lenox, his father, and himself, had obtained the command of Dumbarton-castle, which he must, by these promises, lose, king Henry is willing to grant to the captain a yearly pension of one hundred merks sterling, until such time as his highness, or his heirs, can give him lands to that value."

He marries
Henry's
niece.

No sooner was this indenture properly executed, than on the sixth of July, letters of naturalization were granted to the earl of Lenox, and his active secretary Thomas Bishop; and a few days after, the marriage between the earl and the lady Margaret Douglas was celebrated: nor did Henry neglect the earl of Glencairn and his son, for their sufferings in his service; for he settled a pension of two hundred and fifty merks upon the former, and a hundred and fifty upon the latter. Henry, to prove his good faith towards Lenox, appointed the earl of Shrewsbury to be his lieutenant-general in the north, with power to muster the inhabitants, and to act hostilely against Scotland by sea and land. He next ordered eighteen ships to be prepared at Bristol, on board of which the earl of Lenox embarked, together with Sir Ralph Wingfield, and William Winter, an experienced sea-officer, with six hundred foldiers. This little armament was to be employed in enabling the earl to fulfil his engagements with Henry. It arrived safely in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton; and the earl

earl was received on shore with the greatest respect and honour by Stirling, the governor of that castle, for whom he had made the above remarkable stipulation. Lenox, not dreaming of any difficulty on Stirling's part, opened to him the purposes of his expedition, which Stirling not only rejected with horror, but obliged the earl and his attendants to reembark. The earl, under this disagreeable necessity, that he might have somewhat to boast of to his new master, sailed along the western coasts, where his men made petty descents, burning and destroying some places, particularly the castle of Dunwin. His men had several skirmishes with those of the earl of Argyle; but having the advantages of shipping, they spread their ravages all over Cantire, and the Isles of Bute and Arran, and returned with the loss of character, without any acquisition of booty, to Bristol.

A. D. 1544.

But is disappointed.

It was unusual in Scotland to see one of the first nobility in the kingdom, as to birth, rank, and fortune, present himself to his friends and tenants, without being able to prevail on one of them to join him. Such was the case of Lenox, in this shameful, ill-judged attempt; and such was the public detestation of his engagements with Henry, that his friends, even while they were smarting under the persecutions of the regent and the cardinal, took part with the government, and snatched up arms

A. D. 1544. arms to drive him out of their country. Henry was, at this time, engaged in his French expedition; and the regent, in July, sent Sir George Melvil of Faigy, to represent to him the cruel, but bootless, depredations made by the subjects of both nations on the borders, and proposing a truce, till commissaries could meet and settle a treaty. Henry willingly agreed to this proposal, but the truce was soon broken; and, as we have already seen, hostilities, were recommenced, which lasted through the remaining part of that year.

A truce.

Henry having returned from his French expedition, in which he was bubbled and betrayed by the emperor, was so little affected by the ill success of Lenox, that, in October, he ordered the same earl, the lord Dacres, and Sir Thomas Wharton, to make a fresh irruption into Scotland, where they met with little or no opposition, and returned with a considerable booty. Another irruption succeeded that, with equal success. One great cause of those depredations was, the grant which had been made by Henry of the conquered lands of Scotland to lord Evers and Sir Brian Latoun. He had, likewise, by the duke of Norfolk's advice, allowed them to raise three thousand men for preserving and extending their conquests; and by maintaining them with the plunder they acquired, all the southern parts of Scotland were in a perpetual state of hostility; nor

A.D. 1544.

nor does it appear from any good author, that the invaders received any check from the Scotch government. This may be easily accounted for, by the influence under which the regent lived at this juncture; for he was, in fact, no better than an easy tool of the cardinal, and the pope's legate, whose arrival I have already mentioned. Every day produced fresh persecutions of the Reformed. The smallest allegation, even that of having kept company with heretics, was sufficient to bring the most innocent person to the stake or the gibbet, where they were executed with the most remorseless cruelty. No intercessions could save the lives of those who were condemned. Magistrates of towns were banished, on suspicion of heresy; and the lord Ruthven, provost of Perth, was divested of that office, and another put in his room, which occasioned considerable bloodshed in the town. From Perthshire, the cardinal continued his bloody progress into Angus, and the adjacent counties, which he thought to be the most infected with heresy, without suffering the regent to enter upon any vigorous measures for repelling the cruel invasions of the English in the south. This was the true reason, why the enemies of Scotland boasted of their conquests there; and what the event might have been, had not the earl of Angus, whose spirited conduct had recovered his credit among his countrymen, been roused by the progress of

of

A. D. 1544.

of the English, is uncertain. He repaired to the regent, and laid before him the danger of his country. He upbraided him with being misled by the cardinal and the clergy, and with his neglecting the advice of his nobility, who were willing to sacrifice themselves in defence of their country. His reproaches had the desired effect. The earl and the regent set out for the south, with no more than three hundred horse; but summonses were sent for the neighbouring gentlemen to join them with all the force they could raise, to march against the enemy, in the beginning of the year 1545.

1545.

Defeat of
the English
at Ancram-
Muir.

The regent and the earl of Angus, with a handful of followers, having advanced to Melrofs, the English, who lay at Jedburgh, under the lord Evers and Sir Brian Latoun, made a motion to surprise them; upon which the regent retired to a place called the Sheils, by advice of the earl of Angus, and sent intelligence to the troops, who were advancing to join him, to meet him at Gallasheils, with all expedition. The English finding Melrofs abandoned, plundered it, and were returning to Jedburgh, when the Scots were joined by the famous Norman Lesley, eldest son to lord Rothes, and a gallant company of Fifeshire gentlemen, all of them friends to the Reformation, and enemies to the cardinal. The whole body under the regent not exceeding seven hundred men, the English were no way alarmed, and advanced to take them

them prisoners; but met with a defile in their way, which cost them some hours in passing. In the mean time Scot of Buccleugh arrived, and informed the regent that his friends and followers, with the gentlemen of the south and their attendants, were on their march; and that tho' the whole was far inferior in numbers to the English, yet he would return and draw them up in a place where they could not be discovered by the enemy, who, by the regent's retreat, might be drawn into the ambush. The earl of Angus approving of this disposition, the regent began to retire with some confusion; and the English, to the number of five thousand, advanced, as secure of their prey, with the greatest precipitation. The regent and the earl of Angus continued retreating, till the English, harassed and out of breath, with the wind and sun directly in their faces, fell into the ambush, and were totally defeated. The lord Evers, Sir Brian Latoun, with the lord Ogle, and several gentlemen of distinction, were killed on the spot, as were about five hundred (the English say only two hundred) common soldiers; but all agree that above a thousand, some of them men of great families and fortunes, were made prisoners; and among them, one Read, an alderman of London, who, because he refused to pay a benevolence imposed by Henry on his subjects, was forced to serve as a common soldier in the English army. As to the loss of the

A.D. 1545

The'r loss.

A. D. 1545 Scots, who had not above a thousand men in the field, it is said to have been no more than two men, who were casually killed by their own artillery *.

Proper behaviour of the regent.

The regent made a very proper use of this victory, which was fought at Ancram-Muir in Teviotdale, on the seventeenth of February. He complimented the earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas, for their gallant behaviour; and declared, at the head of the army, that their actions entirely effaced all suspicion of their favouring the enemies of their country. The brave Buccleugh, to whom the fortune of the day was chiefly owing, had a like share of his public thanks, as had the master of Rothes, Lochleven, and the other gentlemen, according to their respective merits. He ordered that care should be taken either to bury the bodies of the English generals according to their ranks, or to deliver them to their friends; observing, at the same time, that "their taking of seisin has been no less unfortunate than unformal." Marching to Jedburgh, they supped upon the provisions that had been made for their enemies. Next day a herald proclaimed, that all the lands of Scotland which had been conquered by king Harry, were now redeemed

* I have in my relation of this action at Ancram Muir, chiefly followed Lindsay, as his account of it seems to be the most probable; there being no great likelihood, that such a handful of Scots should defeat five thousand English troops in the open field, without some stratagem.

A. D. 1545.

by the help of God. He next invited and encouraged all the subjects of Scotland who had been obliged to wear the red cross, to appear before him, to renounce their obedience to England, to lay aside that badge of their servitude, and to resume their allegiance to their lawful sovereign; upon which he gave them a full pardon and indemnity for all that was past. Some of the regent's friends were for his improving his good fortune by pushing forward towards Wark and Norham; but he found such an attempt impracticable, both on account of the season, and his being destitute of artillery; he therefore returned towards Edinburgh.

Henry's chief conquest, during his last expedition to France, was that of Boulogne; and upon the treaty of Crespi being concluded between Francis and the emperor, the former made the most amazing preparations both by sea and land to retake it; but he was obliged to desist, with a great loss of men, shipping, money, and military reputation. Though he had not, during the late transactions between Scotland and England, given proofs of his gratitude to the former, notwithstanding the warm solicitations of the regent and the cardinal, yet not only his interest, but his safety, required that he should now support his antient allies with vigour. For this purpose, he ordered one of his best officers, De Lorges Montgomery, a knight of the order of St. Michael, to sail

A. D. 1545.

A body of
French,
under
Lorges,
lands in
Scotland.

with about four thousand men for Scotland, where they landed in the west on July the third, and marched directly to Edinburgh. Letters were immediately issued, summoning all prelates, earls, lords, and great barons of the kingdom, to meet at Edinburgh on the twenty-third of the same month, for their advice and counsel. Upon De Lorges's arrival at Edinburgh, he invested the regent, the earls of Angus, Argyle, and Huntley, with the order of St. Michael, by his master's directions; and the proper proclamations being made for that purpose, fifteen thousand men assembled on Roslin Moor, the twenty-eighth of July. These being joined by the French, marched under the regent and De Lorges towards England, and encamped, for ten days, at a place called Bargany-haugh, opposite to Wark, carrying military execution into the neighbouring country, or laying it under contribution. Some of the Scotch nobility were very pressing with the regent to pass the Tweed, and lay siege to Wark; but he again excused himself, because he was destitute of artillery for such an enterprize; so that the campaign ended without any action.

One of De Lorges's instructions was to enquire into the treatment which the earl of Lennox had received in Scotland, and the cause of his defection from France. When the French went into winter-quarters, in St. Andrew's and Edinburgh,

Edinburgh, De Lorges went to Stirling, where a council was summoned in presence of the queen-mother. Lenox had made great complaints, before he changed his party, of the cardinal, which now appeared to be so well founded, that De Lorges, who was a warm passionate man, upbraided him with having deceived both Lenox and the French king. The cardinal gave De Lorges the lie, which the latter returned with a blow on the face; and had not the other lords interposed, he would have stabbed the cardinal on the spot, calling him a false whoreson-priest. The queen-mother advised the cardinal to patience; but De Lorges was so much exasperated, that he never again came near the court, while the cardinal was there. We are told, however, that the French were nobly entertained in Scotland, and had many valuable presents made them of hawks and horses. From this incident it is plain, that the court of France was, at this time, dissatisfied with the cardinal, to whom they imputed all the regent's inactivity against the English. The queen-dowager herself was unable to justify the cardinal's conduct; and the regent continued to support him, only because he himself must have fallen, had the cardinal abandoned him. The latter, on the other hand, had received from the pope, the high character of legate à latere. He was still vigorously backed by

A. D. 1545.

Lindsay. A

Who strikes
the cardinal.

A. D. 1545.

Lesley.

by the whole body of the profligate, ignorant, but wealthy, clergy; and he and his creatures threw out reflections against the severities inflicted upon the English, after the battle of Ancram-Muir; because, in fact, they disliked the expedition itself, which had given so much credit to their enemies. De Lorges likewise attributed to the cardinal the regent's backwardness to pass the Tweed, and besiege Wark, on which he and the earl of Hume strongly insisted. In short, the cardinal was now become the object of public hatred and execration.

Rebellion
in the
Highlands.

The state of Scotland was the more deplorable at this time, as a general rebellion, or rather an universal spirit of anarchy, had broken out in the Highlands. An old quarrel had subsisted between the Frasers and the Clanronalds, two families which had refused to acknowledge any dependence upon the earl of Huntley. That nobleman was, at the same time, at variance with the earl of Argyle, and the whole body of the Highlanders were divided between these two powerful chiefs; but they came to an accommodation when it was least expected, and both parties dismissed their forces. While the Frasers were returning home, they were attacked by a superior power of the Clanronalds; and, if we are to believe Buchanan, the name must have been exter-

Buchanan.

exterminated, had not fourscore of them left A. D. 1545. their wives at home big with child, who were all of them delivered of males.

It is amazing, that the English did not take advantage of those civil commotions, which happened about the time that the earl of Hertford was in possession of Leith; but Henry was, then, so intent upon his French expedition, that when he failed in his expectation, that all Scotland would submit as soon as his army appeared, he repented of having ordered the expedition; and the earl of Hertford had likewise his private reasons for returning as quickly as he could to the court of England *. As Henry was now under no apprehensions from France, he prevailed with the Flemings to seize sixteen Scotch ships and their cargoes, and ordered the earl of Hertford to assemble twelve thousand men upon the borders, and again to invade Scotland, which he did, by incursions, as far as Merse in Teviotdale; but he soon returned to England. De Lorges had, by this time, left Scotland, highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the regent, as

Henry's
mistaken
politics.

* An account of an inroad by the earl of Hertford, between the eighth and twenty-third of September, 1545.

Monasteries, and friar-houses	- - - - -	7
Castles, towers, and piles	- - - - -	16
Market towns	- - - - -	5
Villages	- - - - -	243
Milns	- - - - -	13
Hospitals	- - - - -	3

Haynes, 52.

well

A.D. 1545. well as the cardinal; and it was probably owing to his advice, that a new political scene was there opened. A parliament met in the beginning of October at Linlithgow; and sixteen thousand pounds were voted for maintaining a thousand horse, who were to lie upon the borders, to check the incursions of the English, which they seem to have done for the remainder of that year. But it is now necessary to have a retrospect to parliamentary proceedings; for which I must recur as far as the latter end of the preceding year.

Conduct of
the queen-
dowager.

The queen-dowager continued to remain at Stirling with her daughter, under the tuition of the noblemen who had been appointed her guardians. She was entirely under the direction of her friends, the ambitious family of the Guises, who wished to see the government of Scotland in her hands, rather than in those of the regent, or even the cardinal. The circumstance of her having possession of the royal person, furnished her with a plausible pretext, which the lords of her party did not fail to improve; and by their advice she actually proclaimed a parliament to meet at Stirling, before whom the regent was summoned to appear; but, in the mean time, he was suspended from the exercise of his office. This was a bold, rash, and unconstitutional measure; and could be dictated only by those who were entire strangers to the laws of Scotland. The regent and his party,

party, were not wanting to themselves on the occasion. They summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh in the same month; and thirty-eight members accordingly met, and proceeded with the utmost vigour in the dispatch of business. On the seventh day of the session, they passed an act, declaring the pretended parliament at Stirling to be null, void, and of no effect; and all persons were prohibited to concur with the same, under pain of treason. In the remaining part of their proceedings, they shewed a wonderful moderation, when we consider the provoking steps taken by their adversaries. That they might preserve the respect that was due to the queen-regent, and the public peace, at the same time, a plan of accommodation was drawn up; and the earls Marischal and Montrose, the lords Seton and Semple, with Sir James Learmouth, were sent in their names, and in that of the governor, to lay the same before the queen-mother at Stirling; but they likewise passed a vote, that if she and her party should reject the plan of accommodation, they would defend the regent in his authority, to the utmost of their power. That they might be in a capacity to carry those vigorous resolves into execution, the inhabitants of Lothian were summoned to attend the regent in the field, each man with three days provision. We are at a loss for the names of the particular lords who were of the queen's party; but their numbers and

A. D. 1545. interest could not be very considerable, and very probably they had repented of the rash measures they had taken; for we know of no farther attempts they made against the regent.

Success of
the regent.

The support given him by the parliament, was of great consequence to his country. The English had, indeed, burnt Kelso, and taken prisoners a French officer, who commanded a detachment on the borders, with two young Scotchmen of quality; but no incursions of any consequence happened during the rest of the year; and the regent's authority, now that he was joined by the earl of Angus, was so respectable, that the governor of Dumbarton put that fort into his hands. The western borderers being provoked by the English inroads took arms, though they had given hostages for their good behaviour. Henry inhumanly ordered the hostages to be put to death, and five hundred men to march against the insurgents, who cut them in pieces, so that few of them escaped. The regent, at this time, was at the head of an army, and had cantoned the French troops along the borders; so that, according to Sir James Balfour, he made severe reprisals for the ravages of the English in Scotland. The lord Maxwell, Lochinware, and Johnston, are particularly mentioned for their activity against the English, being struck with the barbarity of putting the hostages to death; and there is the greatest reason to believe, that this

Balfour's
MSS.

this sudden turn of affairs against the English in Scotland, prevailed on Henry to adopt other, but those unwarrantable, measures, to which the bloody violence of the cardinal, no doubt, contributed. A.D. 1545.

That imperious churchman perceiving that the regent himself began to cool in his attachment to his person, on account of his unpopularity, was resolved to make him the instrument and witness of his cruelties. By virtue of his legantine powers, he obliged the regent and other noblemen, as well as prelates, to be present at the inhuman sacrifices he offered to the papal religion; and he carried them about with him, as his attendants, in the bloody progresses he made through the country. In the beginning of the year 1546, he summoned a provincial assembly of the clergy, at the Black Friars in Edinburgh, to concert the means of suppressing heresy, and of reforming the lives of the clergy. The last consideration was mentioned only for form's sake, for his great aim was to destroy the preachers of the Reformation; and particularly one Mr. Wishart, of a very respectable family in the Merns. This gentleman had received his education in England, was an excellent scholar, and an eloquent preacher. He had a candor and sweetness of temper which had rendered him so excessively popular, that the cardinal's life had been more than once in danger, by his attempting to ap-

Insolence
and inhu-
manity of
Beaton.

1546.

A. D. 1546. prehend him. This, no doubt, gave rise to the many reports that had been propagated by the Roman catholics, as if he was a party in the plot to murder the cardinal. That such a plot was, by this time, formed, can admit of no dispute; and it is more than probable, that it was known at the English court; for it appears by Sadler's letters, and other evidences, that the chief person in the conspiracy had a correspondence with that ministry; but I am inclined to believe, that they rather winked at, than gave any encouragement to the assassination. Dr. Mackenzie, in his Life of Wishart, mentions a letter, dated April 17, 1544, from the earl of Hertford to Henry the eighth, which, if real, can admit of no doubt that Norman Lesley, and the other conspirators, had, at that time, positively offered either to murder the cardinal, or to deliver his person into Henry's hands; but Mr. Keith candidly acknowledges, that after searching Sadler's papers, in the Lawyers Library at Edinburgh, he could find no such letter. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the stile and manner in which it is written, bear great marks of authenticity. The reader may judge for himself *. Be this as it will, it is proper here to

* " This day arrived from Scotland Mr. Wishart, who brought me a letter from my lord Brinston, which I send your highness herewith; and according to his requests, I have taken order of the repair of the said Mr. Wishart to your majesty, for the delivery of such letters as he hath to your majesty, from the lord Brinston;

anticipate such parts of the ecclesiastical history as gave rise to the civil revolutions which happened about this time.

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A bill had passed the parliament, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy, so far back as the year 1543, for liberty to the people to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and this bill, which was offered by the lord Maxwell, was notified to the public by a proclamation from the regent, before his compromise with the cardinal. He had even desired Sadler, the English minister, to send for English bibles from London, and for copies of all Henry the eighth's proceedings in throwing off the supremacy of the Romish pontiffs. Henry approved of the regent's disposition for a reformation; but urged him to proceed farther; to extirpate, as he had done in England, the religious foundations, and to abolish the orders of monks and friars, with the pope's authority. To this the regent demurred. He

State of the Reformation in Scotland.

Keith.

Brinston; and also for the said declaration of his credence, which, as I can perceive by him, consisteth of two points; one in the laird of Grange, late treasurer of Scotland, and the master of Rothes, the earl of Rothes, his eldest son, and John Chartres, who would attempt either to apprehend or slay the cardinal at some time when he should pass through the Fife-land, as he doth fundry times to St. Andrew's; and in case they can so apprehend him, will deliver him up to your majesty; which attempt, he says, they would enterprize, if they knew your majesty's pleasure therein; and what supportation and maintenance your majesty will minister unto them, after the execution of the same, in case they should be pursued afterwards by any other enemies."

Keith's History of Scotland, page 44.

said,

A.D. 1546.

faid, that though he was perfectly well convinced as to the expediency and necessity of all that Henry had proposed, yet it would be hard to bring it to pass. The reasons he gave are very remarkable, and were verified by the event: "For (saide he) there be so many great men in the kingdom that are papists, that unless the sin of covetousness bring them into it, (that is, the desire of having the lands of the abbeyes in their own possession) he knew no other mean to win them to his purpose in that behalf." I have been the more explicit on this head, because those proceedings evince, that the seeds of the Reformation had, at that time, received a parliamentary sanction in Scotland; and that it was owing entirely to the ambition and weakness of the regent, that they were not cultivated in a regular, moderate, progress. He even heard a protestant preacher who had been sent from England, and promised him preferment. His apostacy, which (as we have already seen) soon after happened, was as pusillanimous as it was scandalous. He not only dismissed Williams and Rough, two protestant preachers he had in his family, but took the first opportunity of declaring in parliament, as appears by the registers, his firm resolution to prosecute to the utmost, the sowers of damnable opinions, contrary to the faith and laws of holy church (for so the act terms the Reformers). As to Contarini, the legate, his commission,

mission, in Scotland, related chiefly to civil A. D. 1546.
 affairs. He seems to have been a wise, moderate, prelate; and when he returned to the continent, wherever he went, he celebrated the Scotch nation as a polite, generous, and hospitable people.

Such was the state of the Reformation in Scotland, when the cardinal resolved to give it an irrecoverable blow, by bringing Mr. Wishart to the stake. That gentleman, unwilling to exasperate the government, had rather sought to confirm, than to extend, the principles of the Reformers; and had confined his sermons chiefly to the houses of his own friends. While the provincial council sat at Edinburgh, the cardinal received certain intelligence, that Wishart was at the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, a noted favourer of the Reformation in East Lothian. The cardinal immediately applied to the regent, who required Ormiston to give Wishart up, which he refused; and the earl of Bothwell, high sheriff of the county, was commanded to apprehend him. The cardinal, who knew that the regent was then acting against both his inclination and conviction, carried him and the earl of Bothwell to within a mile of the house where Wishart was; and Bothwell leaving them, he was delivered into his hands, upon his promise to keep him harmless at that time, and either to set him at liberty, or restore him to the same place where
 he

A.D. 1546.

he received him. It appears from records, as if Bothwell had endeavoured to be as good as his word; but being summoned before the council, he was compelled, under the highest penalties, to surrender his prisoner to the regent, who delivered him into the hands of the cardinal, and he was sent prisoner to St. Andrew's. The queen-mother and the Guises, as well as the cardinal, thought that it was necessary to make an example of Wishart; but some difficulties occurred in what manner they should proceed to try him. The archbishop of Glasgow was of opinion, that he should be tried by a commission from the civil power, and the cardinal applied to the regent for that purpose. His answer was, that he could not, in conscience, comply. This resolute denial mortified the cardinal, who sought only to transfer the unpopularity of Wishart's death, which had been resolved on, to the regent, and the civil government. He accordingly declared, that he did not require the regent's concurrence, from any diffidence he had of his own powers to punish heretics; but that Wishart's condemnation might proceed with a shew of public consent. Without dwelling longer on this disagreeable subject, it is sufficient to inform the reader, that Wishart was tried by the cardinal's legantine authority, and condemned to the stake with all the circumstances of barbarity and bigotry. He suffered
on

on a green, before the castle of St. Andrew's, A. D. 1546.
 with astonishing magnanimity and courage; but,
 according to archbishop Spotfwood, with his and death of
 last breath he prophesied, that the cardinal Wishart.
 should "within a few days lie in the same
 place as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly
 to rest himself."

This dying prophecy, if true, must affect every sober mind with some suspicions, that Wishart was not ignorant of the conspiracy formed against the cardinal, who is said to have viewed the execution from a window overlaid with tapestry; but I concur with a reverend author, that the whole of the story is a fiction, invented to brand the cardinal's memory. No mention is made by Knox (who was Wishart's favourite companion) in his history of such a particular. Sir David Lindsay, the determined enemy of Beaton, omits it in the tragedy which he composed of that cardinal's death; nor is it taken notice of even by Fox in his Martyrology. It is, indeed, related very particularly by archbishop Spotfwood, a wise and moderate historian; but he wrote many years after the fact happened, when such traditions had become inveterate and habitual among the common people. Lindsay of Pitscottie, who, I believe, lived at the same time, does indeed mention some fore-tokens which Wishart had, before he was brought to the stake, "which he thought did portend the wrath of God to seize shortly, not

Keith.

A. D. 1546. only on that wicked man who was lord of that castle, but also upon the city." But the whole of this passage is so enthusiastical and absurd, that it deserves no credit. Buchanan, indeed, who was a contemporary, relates the prophecy much in the same manner as archbishop Spotfwood does; but he was so notoriously prejudiced against the cardinal and all priests, that he very possibly was the author of the invention. As to the cardinal being present at the execution, and his ordering the guns of the castle to be pointed, for fear of a rescue, to the place where Wishart suffered, I make no doubt of the facts.

Profligacy
of Beaton.

This inhuman execution, which happened on the first of March, proved fatal to Beaton, who most unaccountably had now thrown off almost every character of a churchman, except his persecuting spirit. He boasted, that heresy was now extinguished in the flames which had consumed Wishart. He had passed the preceding holidays in feasting and rioting with the regent and other noblemen at his castle of St. Andrew's; and he acted, in every respect, as if he had been above all controul. It was in vain for his friends to suggest to him the odium he had incurred by Wishart's death, and the irregularity, as well as imprudence, of his condemning him upon his own authority, without the consent, and against the opinion, of the regent. Setting all admonition at defiance, he went to Angus, where

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where he gave his natural daughter Margaret, in marriage, to David Lindsay, eldest son to the earl of Crawford; a fact that scarcely falls within the compass of general history, did not the circumstances attending it illustrate the avowed profligacy of this priest; for in the marriage-contract, which is still extant, signed by himself, he calls the lady his daughter, and gives her four thousand marks in dowry, which was but two thousand eight hundred marks less than Henry gave with his niece to the earl of Lenox. While he was at Finhaven, the earl of Crawford's seat, he received information that Henry the eighth was making fresh preparations for a descent upon Scotland; upon which he hurried back to St. Andrew's, to consult with the gentlemen of the country about securing their coasts. This leads me to return to the affairs of England.

Henry was now in the last stage of his life. He continued still at war with the French king; but both of them, upon cooler thoughts, reflected that they were fighting to aggrandize their common enemy the emperor, consequently both of them were desirous of peace; and conferences, for that purpose, were opened at Campe, a place between Ardres and Guisnes. The greatest difficulty that occurred in this negotiation, was the comprehension of the Scots in the future treaty, to which Henry was remarkably averse, as appears by his letters still

The Scots comprehended in a treaty between France and England.

A. D. 1546. extant ; but he was, at last, obliged to give way to Francis, who insisted upon the comprehension. The fifteenth article, therefore, of the treaty is as follows : “ The Scots are comprehended in this treaty, against whom the king of England shall not wage war, unless new occasion be given ; in which case this comprehension of the Scots shall receive that interpretation which is contained in the treaty of the date of April the fifth, 1515, with this alteration, that although by the said treaty of 1515, fifteen days only are prescribed to the French king to intimate the said comprehension to the Scots ; yet now, by reason of the distance of place, there is allowed the space of thirty days, next following the conclusion hereof.”

On the fourteenth of August following, this comprehension was ratified by the Scotch parliament, and the peace between England and Scotland was proclaimed all over the kingdom. This peace suspended the operations which appeared so dreadful to Beaton, whose downfall was now rapidly advancing.

One of his most determined enemies was Norman Lesley, to whom his country owed so much at the battle of Ancram-Muir. He deeply resented many personal flights and indignities which had been offered him by the cardinal ; and, after Wisheart's death, a design upon the cardinal's life was publicly talked of. Lesley was among the gentlemen who had repaired

paired to St. Andrew's, upon the cardinal's summons; and having some private business with him, he met with fresh insults, which determined him to accelerate his purpose. The cardinal was then busied in fortifying his castle of St. Andrew's, which gave Lesley, and the other conspirators, a favourable opportunity of entering it, and perpetrating the murder, which they did, with amazing resolution and address, on the twenty-ninth of May. Kirkaldy the younger of Grange, was one of the chief conspirators; and after a general consultation early in the abbey-church-yard, he, and six others, entered the outer-gate of the castle, which they found open. Other conspirators following, the porter was alarmed, and endeavoured to secure the draw-bridge; but he was prevented by the activity of the conspirators, four of whom planted themselves at the door of the cardinal's chamber, while the others were employed in turning the workmen, to the number of a hundred, and fifty of his domestics, whom they found in their beds, out of the castle. The cardinal was awakened with the noise, and attempted to barricade his room; but the conspirators, who were no more than sixteen, threatening to burn down the door, he opened it, and they entered his chamber, where they found him sitting in a chair. According to Knox, who must have been well acquainted with the particulars, one of

Murder of
cardinal
Beaton.

A. D. 1546.

A. D. 1546. of them, Melvil, a mild, serious person, rebuked his companions for their want of decorum, and a proper solemnity in executing their purpose. Stepping up to him with much gravity, he piously exhorted him to repent of his sins, protested that he had no kind of enmity to his person, and then very deliberately ran him twice through the body. His example was followed by the other conspirators, and the cardinal expired with these words in his mouth, "I am a priest." The people of the town had, by this time, surrounded the castle, which they could not enter, and demanded tidings of the cardinal. They were answered by the conspirators exposing his dead body over the wall; and they then prepared for their own defence, till they could be relieved from England.

The regent's son made a prisoner.

Among the other precautions which the cardinal had taken for securing his power, was his getting possession of the sons of such noblemen as he suspected, whom he detained as hostages for the good behaviour of their fathers. Among them was the regent's son, whose person the conspirators thought proper to secure for their own safety. After the murder became public, the conspirators admitted others of their party into the castle; so that their garrison, at last, consisted of about a hundred and forty persons. On the tenth of June, the earl of Huntley was chosen chancellor of Scotland in the

the cardinal's room, and summonses were issued for citing the murderers (whose names are in the note *) to appear on the thirtieth of July before the parliament at Edinburgh. It must be acknowledged, that their putting off this appearance to so distant a day, does not indicate any violent resolution to punish them; and, indeed, before the parliament was reassembled, a treaty had been opened between the government and the chief of the conspirators, who offered to discover all they knew relating to the cardinal's murder, and to set the regent's son at liberty, provided they were granted a pardon under the great seal. Those proposals were actually debated and agreed to in parliament, notwithstanding all the opposition made by the archbishop of Glasgow and the clergy. It was soon discovered, that the

* The persons contained in the summons were these, viz. Norman Leslie fear of Rothes, Peter Carmichael of Balmadie, James Kirkcaldie of the Grange, William Kirkcaldie his eldest son, David Kirkcaldie his brother, Jhonne Kirkcaldie, Patrick Kirkcaldie, George Kirkcaldie, brothers to the same James Kirkcaldie of the Grange, Thomas Kirkcaldie his son, Jhonne Leslie of Park-hill, Alexander Inglis, James Malvil elder, Jhonne Malvil bastard son to the lord of Raith, Alexander Malville, David Carmichael, Gilbert Gedde zounger, Robert Muncrief, brother to the iard of Tibermello, William Symson, Alexander Anderfoun, David Balfour, son to the lard of Monquhany, Thomas Coningham, Nicoll Hart, William Guthre, Jhonne Libbald, brother to the lard of Cuikstoun, Peter Carmichael, Walter Malvil zounger, Sir Jhonne Auchinlek chaplane, Nicholl Learmouth, Sir Jhonne Zoung chaplane, David Kirkcaldie cuik, Ninian Cockburn, Jhonne Pollgunnar, William Orock, Jhonne Rollock, and Andro Tanzon. Keith's Hist. p. 50.

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Keith.

conspirators fought only to gain time, till the return of a messenger, whom they had sent to England, a few days before the murder; so that when the parliament re-assembled on the fourteenth of August, the promise of pardon, and every thing relating to the treaty, were disavowed, and ordered to be torn out of the journals. A very extraordinary act passed at the same time, by which the regent's eldest son was set aside from his succession to his father, while he remained in the hands of the conspirators; and his other sons, according to their several ages, substituted in his place. The conspirators were then declared guilty of high treason, and their estates forfeited; and on the twenty-first of the same month, orders were issued by the regent and council, for raising an army to besiege the castle of St. Andrew's.

Siege of
the castle of
St. An-
drew's.

The great deliberation, if not backwardness, with which this siege was undertaken, is a proof of the difficulties which the government was then under. It was natural for the regent not to be very forward in resenting the death of a man who had rendered him little better than a cypher in the state, and whom he inwardly detested, while outwardly he appeared to be his friend and servant; not to mention the natural affection he might entertain for his eldest son. Whatever may be in this, we know that the regent made no progress in the siege, and that he would not have undertaken it,

it, had not decency, and the reproaches of the queen-dowager and her court compelled him. In short, he besieged the place for three months, without making any progress. The garrison ridiculed his impotent attempts, and he had with him only two pieces of battering artillery, while the conspirators were supplied from England, by sea, with every thing that was necessary, and availed themselves of the additional fortifications lately made by the cardinal. On the other hand, the queen-dowager and her party, perceiving that little was to be expected from the regent's efforts, applied to France, and received the strongest promises of speedy and effectual assistance.

It happened at this time, that the Scots who had been formerly of the English party, I mean the earls of Angus and Cassils, the lord Maxwell, and Sir George Douglas, were highly exasperated at Henry's breach of faith, when he heard of the cardinal's death. I have already mentioned the reluctance with which he agreed that the Scots should be comprehended in his treaty with France; and his wardens upon the borders had, in their proclamations, stiled the peace no other than an abstinence of war during the king's pleasure. The noblemen abovementioned, therefore, in open parliament, renounced all their treaties and engagements with Henry, and concurred in the general voice of the nation for a war with

A. D. 1546.

England. Upon cooler thoughts, the danger of the conspirators surrendering the castle and the regent's son to the English was considered; and on the seventeenth of December, an act passed to empower the regent to enter into a fresh treaty with the conspirators; and in about a month's time, the following terms were agreed upon:

Articles of
the capitulation.

First, That the government should procure unto the besieged a sufficient absolution from the pope, for the slaughter of the cardinal; and that they should not be pursued by force, until the said absolution be obtained.

Secondly, That the besieged, nor any belonging to them, shall never be prosecuted at law for the slaughter aforesaid; and that they shall enjoy all commodities, spiritual or temporal, as freely as if it had never been committed.

Thirdly, That the besieged shall give pledges for surrendering the castle, how soon the absolution is brought from Rome, and delivered unto them; and that for surety of those pledges, the besieged shall, in the mean time, retain in their custody the governor's son.

Historians agree in supposing, that neither party meant to fulfil those terms. I am inclined to think, that the regent was in earnest; but we cannot imagine that the conspirators were so, or that a garrison in which John Knox (for he had been admitted into the castle) was an active leader, would have seriously accepted of

of an absolution from Rome. Buchanan himself acknowledges, that the conspirators made a very bad use of the respite which this temporary accommodation procured them; and that, notwithstanding all the admonitions of Knox, they spent their time in whoredom, adultery, and all the vices of idleness.

A. D. 1546.

The death of Henry the eighth, which happened on the twenty-eighth of January 1547, and that of Francis the first two months after, did not greatly alter the state of affairs between the two kingdoms. Henry the eighth, upon his death-bed, had recommended to the earl of Hertford, and his other ministers, the completion of the match between his son, the prince of Wales, and the young queen of Scotland, by force of arms, if persuasions should fail. Henry the second of France, a spirited young prince, full of ambition, and devoted to the Guises, entered warmly into the interest of the queen-dowager and her party; and seems, from the commencement of his reign, to have planned out the sole regency of Scotland for her, and the marriage of her daughter with his son. Both parties (if the conspirators can deserve that appellation) were elated beyond measure by the encouragement they received, the one from England, the other from France. In the month of June, the absolution which, for form sake, had been stipulated for the conspirators, arrived from Rome; but it was con-

1547.

The siege continues.

A. D. 1547.

ceived in such terms, that they very justly treated it with the highest ridicule*. They even complained, that they had been bubbled and deceived in the negotiation, and that his holiness had undertaken to do what he acknowledged he could not do. The siege therefore continued; and the conspirators made a most desperate defence, in hourly expectation of relief from England. The protector duke of Somerset, who, upon Henry's death, took upon himself the administration of the English government, behaved on this occasion with the very worst of policy. Some military knowledge, and a great zeal for the Reformation, were the only qualifications for government of which he was possessed. Instead of soothing the Scots, he pursued the plan he ought by all means to have avoided, and that too in the most absurd manner, by employing, at once, temporal and spiritual arms for effecting the marriage.

War with
England.

He brought the council of England to approve of a war with the Scots, tho' he had a pensioned party in that kingdom, sufficient to have divided their voices. Among the other injunctions intended for the improvement of the Reformation in England, a form of prayer was ordered for the success of the king's marriage in the fol-

* One of the articles was, "remittimus crimen irremissibile :"
We pardon an unpardonable crime.

A. D. 1547.

lowing terms, which every reader of the smallest curiosity must be pleased to see: "Ye shall also make your treaty and effectual prayer to Almighty God, for the peace of all christian regions; and especially, that the most joyful peace and unity of this reyalme and Scotland may shortly be profited and brought to pass, by the most godly and happy marriage of the king's majesty, and the young queen of Scotland: and that it would please Almighty God to aid with strength, wisdom, and power, and with his holy defence, all those which favour and set forward the same, and vanquish and confound all those which labour and study to the lett and interruption of so godly a quiet and unity, whereof these two realms should take such a benefit and profit."

The protector, pleased that the people of England were, in general, fond of the match, and were prepared to second him in all his endeavours, either pacific or warlike, to bring it about, sent Sir Francis Brian to the court of France, to endeavour to persuade Henry either to befriend the courtship, or to remain neutral in the quarrel; but the arguments he was to employ, were, perhaps, the most impolitic that could have been devised. He was to insist, not only upon the validity of the marriage treaty, which had been confirmed in the Scotch parliament, and upon the great advantages and conveniency of the whole island being under
one

Negotiations in France.

A.D. 1547.

one head; but he was to resume all the evidences that had been brought by the late king and his predecessors, to prove the superiority of England over Scotland; arguments which of themselves were sufficient inducements to determine Henry to oppose the match with all his power. As his preparations to succour, were not so forward as those of the English to distress, Scotland, he sought to gain time; and his agent in England proposed a meeting upon the borders, between commissioners of both kingdoms, to treat of an accommodation, and to examine into the dependence of the crown of Scotland upon that of England. This proposal was agreed to, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was ordered to search the chartularies of his church for the evidences of that dependency; and, at the same time, he was appointed joint commissioner with Sir Robert Bowes to treat with the Scots. Tunstall, tho' a moderate prelate, was a most violent advocate for the dependency of Scotland upon England; and wrote a long laboured letter to the lords of the regency, with exemplifications of a number of papers to prove it. As I have, more than once, answered all the arguments he brings, and detected the forgeries of his chief authorities, it is sufficient to say, that he and Bowes were instructed to drop that, and all other claims of the English upon the Scots, provided they could succeed in the article of
the

the marriage. The Scotch commissioners having no instructions upon that head, the conferences broke off, and both sides prepared anew for war. A. D. 1547.

The French king's preparations were so forward, that he had already appointed Strozzi, knight of Malta, prior of Capua, and captain-general of the French gallies, to sail with a squadron of sixteen stout gallies for Scotland; and to begin his operations by reducing the castle of St. Andrew's. Before his arrival, the council of Scotland had taken the proper precautions for breaking the storm that threatened them from England. On the nineteenth of March, a proclamation was issued for all the lieges to be in readiness, on forty days warning, to come with victuals for one month to whatever place should be assigned for their rendezvous. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, another proclamation was made for erecting and lighting beacons along the sea-coast, and appointing Edinburgh for the place of rendezvous; the regent declaring, at the same time, that he was ready to lay down his life in defence of his country. Scotland had not for many years been so unanimous as it was at this period, occasioned chiefly by the impolitic, unjust, claims of the English. The protector duke of England published a manifesto, which he sent to be distributed among the lords of Scotland, setting forth, in the The French king befriends the Scots,

Keith.

the

A. D. 1547. the strongest terms, the benefits that must arise to both kingdoms, by the proposed marriage ; but his arguments were slighted, and the papers suppressed. The elect bishop of Ross was, indeed, ordered to repair to the court of England, as embassador from Scotland, to obtain some respite from the hostilities which were then laying waste the Scotch borders ; but without any instructions relative to the marriage. The English wardens, upon this, received fresh orders, not only to continue their depredations, but to garrison the places of strength which they took from the Scots. The lord Maxwell, who was the greatest sufferer by the English incursions, repaired to court, where he laid the state of the borders before the regent, who immediately advanced with an army to retake the castle of Langhope, which had fallen into the hands of the English. Among the other noblemen who served in this expedition, was the earl of Rothes, father to Norman Lesley. Some of Beaton's friends, while the Scotch army encamped by the river Meggat, suggested to the regent, that the earl, more than probably, was an accomplice with his son in the murder of Beaton, and his other treasons, and insisted upon his being tried, to which the earl submitted, and was honourably acquitted. After this, the castle of Langhope, belonging to lord Maxwell, was retaken, as were the other places which the English had seized ;

Buchanan.

who defeat
the English.

seized; nor must it be forgot, that such of the Irish as thought themselves of Scotch original, took part in the war against the English. A. D. 1547.

A new negociation had before this been entered into between Balnaves, the agent for the garrison of St. Andrew's, and the protector duke of England. On the ninth of March the agreement was finished, consisting of seven articles. By this agreement, the conspirators bound themselves to do all they could to forward the marriage, and not to surrender the castle of St. Andrew's without king Edward's consent, or till the nuptials were completed. They were to put the regent's son into the hands of the English, and Norman Lesley was to receive pay for six-score soldiers, at the rate of sixpence a day for the foot, and eight-pence for the horse, besides artillery, powder, and every thing necessary for the defence of the castle. Pensions were likewise settled on the conspirators. Norman Lesley had two hundred and eighty pounds sterling, Kirkaldy two hundred, and the rest in proportion. Besides those liberalities, Balnaves received two thousand two hundred pounds for their use. A few days after this agreement, the lord Gray associated himself with the conspirators, and offered, upon certain considerations, to deliver into the hands of the English his castle of Broughty Craig, and to co-operate in forwarding the marriage.

The castle of St. Andrew's surrendered

1547

A.D. 1547.

to the
French,under
Strozzi,

During those transactions, the regent, who remained still upon the borders, received intelligence that the French fleet was seen upon the coast of Scotland. Upon this, he immediately ordered his English prisoners to be carried to Edinburgh; and posted in person to St. Andrew's, where he knew the French would land. Strozzi, in obedience to his orders, lost no time in battering the castle from his ships; but with very little effect for three weeks. At last he landed his artillery, which he mounted on the walls of churches and religious buildings; so that an Italian engineer, who had been sent from England to assist in defending the place, told the garrison, that they had now to deal with experienced soldiers. A large breach being made, a parley was beaten by the besieged, who insisted, at first, upon high terms; but none were granted them, excepting pardon for their lives, and that they should be carried to France; and if they disliked their residence there, that they might be conveyed to any other country, Scotland excepted. By this capitulation, the regent recovered his son; and the French secured an immense booty in the cardinal's effects and money, with which, and his prisoners, Strozzi set sail in a few days for France. We are told, that the plague had broke out in the castle, before it was reduced; and by an order of council it was levelled with the ground, not only on account

A. D. 1547.

account of its being the scene of the cardinal's murder, but because it lay convenient for the English, who might at any time seize it thro' their superiority at sea. As to the garrison, some of them were kept on board the gallies, and others sent to prisons in Brittany.

who returns
to France.

We have no light to instruct us as to the reasons of Strozzi's quick return to France, which was the more particular, as his presence was so much wanted in Scotland to oppose the English. About the beginning of August, the protector duke was at the head of eighteen thousand men, all of them experienced, well-disciplined, and well armed, troops. The earl of Warwick acted under him as lieutenant-general; and his other officers of note were the lord Grey of Wilton, the lord Dacres, and Sir Francis Brian. Besides this army, which was to rendezvous at Newcastle, a fleet was equipped, under the lord admiral Clinton, of sixty sail, one half ships of war, and the other transports, with provisions, which were to attend the troops, and supply them occasionally. The regent of Scotland had now raised an army, which lay encamped to the east of Edinburgh, on the west side of the Esk, above Musselburgh. When the protector arrived at Berwick, it was generally thought that the regent would have disputed the pass of the Paths, commonly called Pease, one of the strongest in the kingdom; but either from an unaccount-

A. D. 1547.

Invasion of
Scotland by
the Eng-
lish,

able oversight, or rather from a vain-glorious confidence, this was neglected, and the protector, in four days after leaving Berwick, came up with the Scotch army, which was posted to great advantage. During his march, he had behaved with remarkable courtesy to the inhabitants of all the places through which he marched, especially those who declared themselves for the marriage. The earl of Warwick commanded the first division, consisting of about five thousand. The second was led by the protector duke himself, and contained above eight thousand veteran troops. The rear, which consisted of about five thousand, was led by the old lord Dacres. Besides those troops, the English had an excellent train of artillery; and about fifteen hundred pioneers and light troops, which skirted their army, prevented desertions, and brought intelligence from all quarters; their carts and waggons, in the whole, amounting to nine hundred.

The regent of Scotland ordered the fire cross, which consisted of two burning brands tied to the top of a spear, and was a signal for all Scotchmen to repair to the royal standard, ecclesiastics as well as laymen; which they did in such numbers, that many were dismissed, and only the most robust, likely, men retained. Even those were double the number of the English army; but were far inferior to it with regard to discipline and military appointments. On the eighth of September,

September, the regent called a convention of the states, at a place called Monkton-hall near Muffelburgh, where it was enacted, that if any ecclesiastic died in the expedition, his nearest relation should have the next turn to the presentation of the living, and likewise all the profits of the benefice, as it stood at the incumbent's death. The heirs of laymen who were slain, or should die in the service, were to have their ward, nonentries, relief, and marriage free, and a dispensation for their minorities, without payment of a teen'd penny. The heirs of the nobility, and assignees of landed gentlemen, were to have their wards, reliefs, and marriages, in their own hands. Their wives, children, and executors, were to enjoy their farms and possessions, whether holding them of ecclesiastics, laics, or the queen, for five years, without enter-money, only paying the usual rents. The English were, at this time, within two miles of the Scotch army, and encamped between Preston and Tranent, almost on the very spot where the rebels in the year 1745, defeated the royal army under Sir John Cope. Their supplies from their shipping became now very precarious. They were in danger of having their retreat to England cut off; and they knew that no subsistence could be had in Scotland. The protector had, upon his entering Scotland, published a manifesto, which was one of the best state papers of that age.

A. D. 1547.

Black Acts,
fol. 146.who pub-
lish a ma-
nifesto.

A. D. 1547. age. He said, "that nature had designed the two nations to be subject to one head; that she was assisted by a similarity between the inhabitants, in language, customs, laws, and manners; and that Providence had favoured such a union, by the Scotch crown devolving to a female, and that of England to a male; and that if they were joined together in marriage, all former distinctions, jealousies, and pretensions, must cease of course, and the whole island be happy: that such an union was the more to be desired, on account of the equality of years between the two royal personages; that the nobility and great landholders of Scotland, instead of living in perpetual alarms and a state of hostility, would then have leisure to cultivate the arts of peace, and the improvements of their country: that such a situation must be the more desirable to the Scots, on account of their inferiority to the English in power and riches: that England was desirous of concluding an immediate and a lasting peace, on the strictest terms of equality, by giving up all pretensions to any superiority over Scotland; and he concluded by putting the Scots in mind, that the match had been already agreed upon by the parliament, and the public faith of the nation."

Such were the general heads of this manifesto, which the protector endeavoured to enforce, by continuing his gentle treatment to all

all who opposed him, and even to those who A. D. 1547. had provoked him most. The queen-mother and her faction were deaf to all those representations; and the protector, as his last effort, sent a private letter to the regent, conjuring him, in the strongest terms, to put an end to the distractions of the two nations, by not opposing the marriage. He offered, in that case, that the young queen should remain in Scotland till she was of an age fit to chuse for herself, to withdraw his army out of the kingdom, and even to give a pecuniary satisfaction for the damages it had committed. All he required was, an assurance that the queen should not be disposed of to any foreign prince. This letter, and other applications of the same kind, was communicated only to the regent's natural brother, the same who had been abbot of Paisley, but was now archbishop of St. Andrew's, and some of his hot-headed favourites, who advised him to stifle the letter, and to give out that it contained only insolent menaces to carry the queen out of Scotland, to force her to marry the king of England, and to reduce the Scots to an abject dependence upon the English.

There is a surprizing difference between the historians of the two nations, as to the operations that succeeded. It is agreed, on all hands, that many skirmishes passed, in one of which the earl of Warwic was in imminent danger of his

The Scots
defeated
at the bat-
tle of
Pinkie.

A.D. 1547.

his life; that the main body of the English lay at Preston-pans, and the Scots at Musselburgh, and the adjacent places. The river Esk ran between their two armies, which were not much above a mile distant from each other. The queen-dowager's party, the regent, and the priests, who were very numerous in the Scotch army, appeared to be afraid of nothing so much, as that their enemies should escape back to their own country, either by stealing a march, or embarking on board their ships; and their historians, with some shew of probability, say, that they were actually making dispositions for a retreat, when a body of the Scots of about two thousand men attacked the lord Gray, and Sir Francis Brian's division; but after a dispute of almost three hours, they were repulsed with considerable slaughter, and pursued almost to their camp. In this encounter the earl of Huntly was mortally wounded, and his son taken prisoner; as were, on the part of the English, Sir Ralph Bulmer, Sir Thomas Gower, and Sir Robert Crouch. The slain on both sides are said to have amounted to a thousand. This action, which happened two days before the general battle, gave the English an opportunity of changing their situation for the better. The earl of Angus commanded the first line of the Scotch army, which was composed of their best men. The regent led the center, and the earl of Huntly the rear. Besides them, the earl of Argyle commanded

A. D. 1547:

commanded their cavalry, which was considerable, and consisted only of light-horse and a body of Irish archers, whom he had brought over, and who served as subjects to the crown of Scotland. I shall here omit the particulars of a challenge which was said to have been sent from the earl of Huntley, by a Scotch herald, offering to fight the protector duke, twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or body to body, to prevent the farther effusion of blood, because it does not appear that the earl authorized any such romantic proposal. That such a challenge was given, can scarcely be doubted; but it had been dictated by some furious Scotchman; tho' for what purpose is not clear.

The action which had already happened, had given the protector duke a mean opinion of the Scotch discipline and prowess. He was, however, still ready to have fulfilled the terms he had proposed; but the regent was determined, if possible, to cut off his retreat from his ships, and to force him to a battle, which he made no doubt must terminate in the total destruction of the English army. The protector having made a motion towards the sea, which convinced the regent that the enemy intended to retire to their ships, he immediately sent orders to the earl of Angus to pass the river, and advance into the plain, so as to prevent their escape, and force them to a bat-

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tle. The earl, who was well acquainted with the discipline and courage of the English, and well knowing that they could not remain long in their present situation, discovered such reluctance in obeying this fatal order, that the regent commanded him to march, under pain of high treason. Upon the earl's marching, the English generals congratulated each other on their approaching victory. A feint which they made to take up a rising-ground, that commanded the Scotch camp, made the latter run in a most tumultuous manner to prevent them; when all of a sudden the English wheeled round, and took up another eminence called Pinkey-clough, which secured their communication with their ships, and gave them the advantage of the wind and the sun. The protector then made dispositions for a general battle. He placed his van on the left of the rising-ground, so as to be at the farthest distance from the sea. His main body and the rear was placed on the right, and the lord Gray commanded a detached party; but with orders not to act, till he should see the van engaged with the Scots, and then he was to attack them, to complete their defeat.

This disposition was so excellent, that the Scots could not advance to the charge, which they did with a most disorderly precipitancy, without receiving on their flank a full fire from the English shipping. This threw them, and particularly

particularly the Irish archers, into great disorder. The Highlanders, likewise, unaccustomed to cannonading, staggered ; and, in short, the whole van discovered evident signs of a rout. The lord Gray observing their consternation, ventured to disobey his orders, in hopes of obtaining the victory with his cavalry. Advancing to the charge, he found that the Scots were posted in a fallow-field, and had a flough in their front ; so that his cavalry were under great disadvantages in attacking them. The Scots having thus leisure to recover from their amazement, stood firmly to their arms, consisting of a buckler and a long pike, with which they actually defeated and dispersed the English cavalry ; but being unprovided with horse to pursue their advantage, the protector duke and the earl of Warwick had time to move with the main of their infantry to their assistance. The archers, and four hundred foreign fuzileers, made terrible discharges upon the flank ; and the protector bringing up the infantry, attacked the Scots before they recovered their ranks, after the pursuit of the English cavalry, which had now time to form afresh behind their infantry. The proofs of valour which the Scots had already exhibited, and the compacted manner in which they formed a regular grove with their pikes, rendered the English generals cautious of again attacking them hand to hand ; but they opened

A. D. 1547. such batteries of artillery from their eminences, their shipping, and their infantry, particularly the foreign fuzileers, that scarcely a shot fell in vain, so closely wedged were the ranks of the Scots. The earl of Angus, who commanded their van, sought to avoid this dreadful carnage by changing his ground; but in vain: Sir Peter Meutas, and Sir Peter Gambe, who commanded the foreigners, continued their fire incessantly. The earl of Warwick continued advancing at the head of the infantry; and the English vanguard, that never had yet been engaged, descended from the hill in excellent order. The attempt which the earl of Angus had made to change his ground, was by his countrymen construed into a flight. The Irish archers were the first to shrink from the field, and the panic soon seized the whole army. No farther distinction of rear and center was now observed. The scene of confusion became then general; and the English, who were both cooler and better posted for observation than the Scots, lost no circumstance that could improve their enemy's confusion into a general rout. The Scots, who were infatuated and dismayed, in proportion as they had been before presumptuous and intoxicated, threw away their arms, and tamely yielded their throats to the swords of their enemies, who gave no quarter, in the pursuit, to priests or ecclesiastics, and but little to the common men.

Some

Some fled to the sea, and some towards Dalkeith; but the greatest number towards Edinburgh. Wherever they fled, the ground was strewed with their dead bodies; and ten thousand men fell in the battle and the pursuit, besides fifteen hundred who were taken prisoners. The English are said not to have lost above two hundred men; but this account is certainly diminished. A. D. 1547.
Their loss.

It is acknowledged by the English themselves, that the Scotch nobility and gentry behaved with great gallantry on this fatal day. The lord Fleming, the eldest sons of the lords Montrose, Erskine, Methven, Ogilvie, Livingston, and Ross, were killed in the battle, which was called that of Pinkey, from a nobleman's house in the neighbourhood, and was fought on the tenth of September. The loss of the English was scarcely mentioned. The lord Gray was dangerously wounded, and the protector's eldest son by his first marriage, whom he had most unjustly disinherited, was, for his gallant behaviour in the battle, knighted, and put into the entail of his estate, after the extinction of the heirs male of his second marriage; which happened accordingly, and the titles of that most noble family are now inherited by the descendants of the said Sir Edward.

The Scots were defeated, but far from being conquered, in the late battle. The regent and the queen-mother retained all their high spirit

A. D. 1547.

Conse-
quences of
the battle.

spirit of resentment against the English, without admitting the least alteration of their measures. They fled, indeed, to Stirling with the remains of their army which they could pick up, and there they came to the full knowledge of their loss. The earl of Huntley, who was chancellor of the kingdom, the lords Yester, Hamilton, and Wemys, and the master of Semple, were among the prisoners. It may be proper to mention one particular recorded by the Scotch historians, and by no means unlikely. They tell us, that when the rout of their countrymen became general, about two thousand of them fell down in the field as dead, and ran off in the night-time; of this number was the earl of Angus, who escaped by the assistance of a horse which was brought him. We are likewise informed, that the clergy formed a separate brigade, consisting of four thousand, with their own uniform and colours; which might, no doubt, contribute to the great slaughter that fell upon their body.

Misma-
nagement
of the
English,

Though it cannot be denied, that the English had obtained a cheap, important, and decisive victory, yet its consequences set them farther than ever from the great purposes of the marriage, and the reduction of Scotland. The protector next day entered and plundered Leith, destroyed or took the shipping in the Forth, burnt Kinghorn and a few defenceless villages, and seized upon some passes in the neighbourhood,

hood, but was unable to take Edinburgh castle, though he attempted it. In short, his conduct after the battle was despicable, almost beyond expression. Instead of pursuing the regent to the castle of Stirling, where the young queen and her mother resided, he fortified Broughty castle, because of its situation at the mouth of the Tay; stripped the abbey of Holy-rood house of its bells and leaden roofs; and after committing many other unmanly acts of depredation, he began his march for England towards the end of September. During this expedition, the earl of Lenox and the lord Wharton had made an irruption into Scotland with five thousand men; and meeting with no resistance, they destroyed several castles or forts, particularly that of Annan, and laid the borders under contribution. They might have marched to Edinburgh; but either the protector's repulse from that castle discouraged them, or the want of provisions disabled them from proceeding.

Thus ended a most impolitic expedition, through the incapacity of those who conducted it; who, though successful in all their attempts, except the reduction of the castle of Edinburgh, were, upon the whole, baffled and intimidated. The protector's ambitious brother, the lord-admiral of England, having married Henry the eighth's dowager, was concerting the means of seizing the government, and had entered into many intrigues for the ruin of his brother, which afterwards

who return
to their own
country.

A. D. 1547.

terwards cost himself his head. The protector was a well-meaning man, but irresolute, perplexed, and over-bearing; grasping at more power than he knew how to manage, and afraid of an opposition, which his insolence had raised, and his misconduct had encouraged. Trusting to the splendor of his victory, he hurried back to England amidst the short-lived acclamations of the populace, without securing one solid advantage, that could compensate for the expences of his expedition. When he passed through the Merse in Teviotdale, he forced the earl of Bothwell, and the gentlemen of that country, to swear allegiance to young Edward, and to deliver into his hands their strong holds, which he either demolished or re-fortified. He put garrisons into the castles of Hume and Roxburgh, and erected two forts at Lauder and Aymouth. The garrisons he left in those places, on account of their distance from England, were considered as useless, as they could not be relieved without the greatest difficulty; and though they exasperated, were far from bridling, the Scots.

Resolution
to send the
queen to
France.

The regent of Scotland, when he returned to Stirling, summoned a meeting of the nobility, which was held in the queen-mother's presence. He harangued them with an air of heroism and intrepidity; and instead of desponding, he advised them to carry on the war with more vigour than ever; and his proposal was received with applause. Without losing time, he immediately

diately laid siege to the castle of Broughty; A.D. 1547. but having been always unfortunate in undertakings of that kind, he was, by the bravery of the garrison, forced to turn the siege into a blockade; and he left two of his officers, Hali-burton and Learmouth, with a body of horse and foot, to bridle the excursions of the garrison. Returning to Stirling, he called another assembly of the nobility, to deliberate upon the measures to be taken for securing the person of their queen from the power of the English. Their proceedings, on this occasion, had an appearance of magnanimity; but were, in fact, imprudent and inconsistent with that character of patriotism which they affected. They very justly exclaimed against Henry the eighth and the duke of Somerset, for their attempts against the independency of Scotland; and resolved, in all events, to render the marriage of their queen with the king of England impracticable; but this could not be done if she remained in Scotland. Their country was open to a fresh invasion of the English. The spirit of the common people was broken by the disasters of the war; no army was on foot; and it was to be feared, they had no fort that was tenable against a siege of the English. The queen-mother and D'Oyssel, the French ambassador, were prepared to obviate those difficulties, and undertook in the French king's name, that the young queen should meet with a safe asylum in France. They added, that

A. D. 1547. in order to engage that prince to look upon their cause as his own, and to put a final period to Edward's pretensions, it was necessary that she should receive her education in France. The nobility eagerly embraced this proposition, which, as the queen-mother and the ambassador insinuated, came from Henry himself; and it was agreed to send ambassadors to implore Henry's assistance and protection; to offer him the superintendency of the queen's education; and, in fact, when she should be of age, her hand in marriage to his son. Henry, who expected this embassy, without hesitation accepted of the offer, and immediately gave orders for six thousand veteran troops to be carried to Scotland. I do not, however, perceive, that this assembly, at Stirling, came to any resolution as to the manner of sending the young queen's person out of Scotland. On the contrary, a message was sent to England, with a proposal for the protector duke to send commissioners to Berwick, to treat of an accommodation; and the earl of Warwick, one of the greatest subjects then in England, was dispatched thither for that purpose; but after waiting at Berwick for some time, he found that the proposal was only meant to gain time; for he returned without seeing any commissioners from Scotland.

The protector had graced his triumphal entry into London, by a display of the prisoners, and eighty pieces of artillery which he had brought

brought from Scotland; and his presence, for A.D. 1547.
 that time, put a stop to all the intrigues that
 had been formed against his person. Without
 being discouraged at the flight which had been
 put upon the earl of Warwick, he gave or-
 ders, in February 1548, for drawing up a new
 manifesto, to induce the Scots to agree to an
 accommodation. In this paper, he offered the
 Scots all the privileges of Englishmen in im-
 porting and exporting their goods into or from
 England, if they would consent to the match.
 I perceive, at the same time, that he offered
 them a truce for ten years; but in this new
 manifesto, he made no mention of giving up
 the pretended superiority of England over
 Scotland; so that it had little or no effect, and
 the protector resolved to have recourse once
 more to arms. The lord Gray was ordered to
 march from Berwick to Haddington, which
 he did without the least opposition; and on the
 eighteenth of April, he entered and began to
 fortify that town, which lies within twelve
 miles of the capital. The plague was then
 making great havock in Scotland; and the peo-
 ple were so dejected, that he reduced the castles
 of Yester and Dalkeith, and made incursions
 to the very gates of Edinburgh, and filled all
 East and Mid Lothian with his depredations.
 At last, he left a garrison of two thousand
 foot and five hundred horse, under the com-
 mand of one Mr. Wilford, a brave and an ac-
 tive

1548.

A new ma-
 nifesto pub-
 lished in
 England.

A. D. 1548. tive officer, in Haddington, and he returned to Berwick.

Inactivity of
the Scots.

The inactivity of the Scots on this occasion, arose partly from the distrust they entertained of the regent's abilities as a general, and partly from their daily expecting their French auxiliaries. Henry had charged the duke D'Aumale, the queen-dowager's brother, with the care of selecting and equipping (which he did with great diligence) the six thousand troops which were destined for Scotland; and Andre de Montalamberi, fleur D'Effè, was appointed to command them. Half of them were Germans, and commanded under him by the Rhinegrave, one of their own princes. The other commanders were, Des Termes, D'Andelot, Etange, Strozzi, (not the same who was in Scotland before) and Dunon, who acted as master of the ordnance, or engineer general. They landed at Leith about the middle of June, with an excellent train of artillery, and were immediately joined at Edinburgh by eight thousand Scots, a proclamation for that purpose having been emitted by the regent. A consultation was soon held between the regent and D'Effè; and it was resolved to begin their operations by recovering Berwick, the siege of which was accordingly formed.

A parliament.

In the mean while, on the seventh of July, a parliament was summoned to meet at the abbey of Haddington, where the finishing hand was to be put

put to the disposal of the young queen's person. This meeting was far from being unanimous. Some of the Scotch nobility began to reflect on the consequences of the French alliance; and such of them as favoured the Reformation, not only strenuously opposed it, but became advocates for accepting of the English proposals, and thereby put an end to the distractions of their country. The insolence and assuming airs of the French, did not a little contribute to this opposition; for not only the queen-mother, but their general and ambassador assisted in the debates. D'Essè produced a promise under his master's hand and seal, to assist the Scots at all times; but insisted upon the parliament confirming the resolution of their nobility, to send their queen to France to be married to the dauphin, when she was of perfect age. There can scarcely be a doubt, that very unwarrantable means were employed for procuring a majority, on a question which was to determine, whether the Scots were to receive from France the subjection they had so bravely and so often repelled from England? The queen-mother had never lost sight of the regency; and the regent was softened by the promise of a pension of twelve thousand livres a year, and the title of the duke of Chastelheraut, to be conferred, with other preferments on him and his family, by Henry. The clergy were violent for the match with France; and the

A. D. 1548. the more needy part of the nobility were gained over by presents or promises. In short, a majority was found who were weak and wicked enough to agree to the French proposals; but with a proviso, that the king of France should observe his promise, and defend Scotland in all its immunities; and that he should give their queen in marriage to none but the dauphin. To justify this resolution, it was pretended, that no dependence was to be had on the friendship of the English, who, if the marriage should take place with their queen, would treat Scotland as a dependent nation; and that the surest way of bringing them to proper terms, was to put an end to their hopes, by removing the queen to France.

The young queen carried to France.

The French party were already prepared to carry this act of parliament (for such it was) into immediate execution. One of their admirals, Villegagnon, commander of four galleys, after landing the troops, stood out to sea, as if he intended to return to France; but turning northwards, he cleared the Orkneys, and sailed directly to Dumbarton, to which castle the young queen had been removed, under the care of the lords Erskine and Livingston. She was likewise attended by her natural brother James, prior of St. Andrews, and by several other noblemen and gentlemen of rank. Her female attendants were the lady Fleming, who was her natural aunt by the father,

ther, and four young ladies of the name of Mary *. Villegagnon having received his royal charge on board, consigned her to the care of Monf. Des Termes, who had been appointed by the French king to entertain her; and setting sail, he landed, after meeting with some bad weather, at Brest, from whence the young queen was carried to Paris, and betrothed to the dauphin. A. D. 1548

The protector duke of Somerset was, at this time, in a very disagreeable situation. The state of parties at home rendered his being on good terms with the court of France, indispensibly necessary to his safety; and a period was now put to all hopes of the marriage, which had cost England so much blood and treasure. He renewed his offer of a ten years truce; but it was rejected by the Scots, who insisted upon the English evacuating all the places they held in Scotland. By this time, the siege of Haddington had been formed, and went on very little to the credit either of the Scotch or French arms; for they were repulsed in every attack. As the place, if not revictualled, must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the besiegers, orders were given for Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer to march with fifteen hundred horse from Berwick, and to throw themselves into the place. De Thesse had intelligence of this design, and formed an am-

Siege of
Hadding-
ton.

* Livingston, Fleming, Seton, and Beaton.

A. D. 1548.

buscade, into which the English reinforcement fell, and few escaped being cut in pieces; except four hundred, who, with Bowes the English warden of the west marches, were taken prisoners. This was a severe check to the English; and the town, which was reduced to the last extremity, must have been surrendered to the besiegers, had not about three hundred English horse found means to enter it, with a large convoy of provisions and ammunition. This seasonable relief came about the time the Scots were employed in reducing Hume and Fastcastle. The protector duke being still unwilling to break with France, and distrusting the earl of Warwick, who was more proper than any other nobleman in England to command against the Scots, he prevailed upon the earl of Shrewsbury to undertake an expedition against Scotland. He was a very popular nobleman, and had served as a volunteer under the protector, during the late invasion. The English began now to be tired of such expeditions, in which they had found so little account. It was therefore found necessary to hire three thousand German protestants, who had served in the war against the emperor; so that, according to king Edward's journal, the army under Shrewsbury consisted of twenty-two thousand men, of whom seven thousand were cavalry. While this army was preparing for their march, an expedition by sea was fitted out, under the command of the lord high admiral,

A. D. 1548.

miral, the protector's brother. He had with him only twelve hundred land troops, and with them he made a descent; first upon Fife, where he was repulsed by the prior of St. Andrew's, who had now returned from France; and then upon the coast of Angus, where the greatest part of his men were cut off by Areskine of Dun, one of the most zealous patrons of the Reformation; and he himself was forced, with the loss of reputation, to return to England.

Some of the French officers who served at this time in Scotland, have given long details of the services their army performed; but I omit them, because most of them are unimportant, and the credit due to French memoirs is very questionable. We know enough of the great events of the war, not to stand in need of such assistances. It is not greatly for the honour of the French arms, that D'Effè with the command of seventeen thousand French and Scots, was baffled in all his attempts upon such a place as Haddington. He had advanced his lines so near to the town, that the besieged often knocked down his men with plummets fixed to strings, which they held in their hands. The earl of Shrewsbury, who had with him the earl of Lenox, entered Scotland in the beginning of September, at a time when many of the soldiers had left the siege to attend their harvest. Upon the approach of the English, it was resolved to raise the siege, and to cover the capital by re-

Warlike
operations.

A. D. 1548. treating westward. D'Effè succeeded in his retreat with great difficulty; and having taken up a strong camp, his army was soon reinforced to the number of seventeen thousand; and so well posted, that the earl of Shrewsbury having relieved and revictualled the garrison of Haddington, durst not venture to attack him. All he could do, was to cut off about five hundred in their retreat westward; but D'Effè kept so much upon his guard, that the English, about the beginning of November, returned to England. In their march they destroyed Dunbar, and some other places; and D'Effè resumed the siege of Haddington.

Rude behaviour of the French in Scotland.

The saving Edinburgh from falling into the hands of the English, was the capital service which D'Effè and the French performed at this time. His officers and troops, though brave and experienced, were insolent and rapacious beyond belief; and the noblemen who had opposed the French match, now found all their predictions verified; as their auxiliaries treated Scotland, in every respect, like a conquered country. A quarrel happened between them and the citizens of Edinburgh, on account of the chief magistrate or provost, Hamilton of Stenhouse, (the same who so bravely defended the castle against the English) having committed two Frenchmen to jail; or, according to Buchanan, because the citizens refused to admit their army into quarters in the town, on account

count of their rapacious, thieving, dispositions. A. D. 1548
 Both parties took arms. The provost and his son, five citizens of distinction, besides others, were killed in endeavouring to quell the tumult, which was, at last, done with great difficulty. D'Essè, vext and ashamed of this accident, sought to remove from the minds of the Scots the disagreeable impressions that it might make, by performing some exploit of importance. None could be more acceptable than that of retaking Haddington; where the English soldiers having a kind of contempt for their enemies, had greatly relaxed in their discipline. An excellent plan was concerted for surprizing the place, and so well conducted at first, that about two thousand French had actually gained the outworks; but a French deserter observing them, fired a cannon, which making a dreadful slaughter among the assailants, alarmed the garrison, who repulsed them, after a long and obstinate dispute, with the loss of about three hundred men. D'Essè, without being discouraged, renewed the attack next morning, but without success; so that all he could do, was to cut off the communication between the garrison and the country, in hopes of taking the place by famine.

While D'Essè was thus employed in the siege of Haddington, the Scots, with great concern, saw the English governor of Broughty-castle, which had been, of late, reinforced and revic-

Success of
the Scots
against the
English.

A. D. 1548. tualled by the English, making additional fortifications to the place; and that he had already surprized Dundee, a town of great consequence, and some strength, in the neighbourhood. The earl of Argyle, and a body of his Highlanders, undertook to retake Broughty; but failed in the attempt. D'Effè, after his repulse at Haddington, had returned to Leith, which he began to fortify; but sent the Rhinegrave with two German regiments, and some squadrons of horse, to retake Dundee; which the English, being too few to garrison it, fired, and returned to Broughty, and their neighbouring forts. The effects of the French influence were now evident, in the backwardness with which their military operations were seconded by the Scots. The Rhinegrave, after retaking Dundee, attempted to reduce Broughty; but though he was supported by D'Effè in person, he was unsuccessful; and the two generals leaving a strong garrison in Dundee, returned to Lothian, where they sent their troops into winter-quarters. About this time, the earl of Huntley escaped from his confinement at Morpeth, and returned to Edinburgh, where the great seal was restored to him as chancellor. That nobleman was noted for his gallant, open, behaviour, which procured him the esteem of the English. Being asked one day by the protector duke why he opposed the English match, he answered, "that he had no exception to the match,

match, but to the manner of wooing." In A. D. 1548. this answer he spoke the sense of many Scotch patriots, who disliked being forced, by arms, into a measure, to which they were otherwise well inclined. The winter of this year passed without any farther action; but D'Effè, unable to conquer his unpopularity among the Scots, was recalled, and Des Termes was nominated in his room. D'Effè's removal was owing to the representations of the queen-mother and the regent at the court of France, and to the general resentment of the Scotch nobility, on account of his assuming behaviour, and his justifying his soldiers in all their outrages.

D'Effè, before the arrival of his successor, being willing to signalize himself by some notable exploit, took the field early in the year 1549, when four Gascon regiments landed at Dumbarton. He was greatly favoured by the ferment in which the English government was at this time, which prevented the protector duke from giving the necessary attention to the affairs of Scotland. The lord Gray, however, one of the English wardens, and a most inveterate enemy of the Scots, had put himself at the head of above eight thousand men, part of the earl of Shrewsbury's army, and invaded Teviotdale with great fury. The Rhinegrave and D'Effè, who had, by the queen-mother and the regent, been ordered to march southwards, surprized the important castles of Hume

Farther
operations
of the war.

1549.

A.D. 1549.

Hume and Farnihurst, which had oppressed the country so much, that the Scots, without minding the remonstrances and threats of the foreign generals, put their garrisons to the sword. D'Essè, in his march, had reinforced the party which had been left to watch the motions of the English in Haddington, and particularly to take care to cut off all communication between them and Dunbar. The garrison was now reduced to the utmost distress for want of victuals; and their brave governor, Wilford, hearing that a supply was arrived at Dunbar from England, marched out, in person, with a party, to bring it to Haddington. He was intercepted by the French, himself taken prisoner by a Gascon soldier, and his detachment cut in pieces. The retaking Hume and Farnihurst exposed all the English borders to the incursions of the Scots, which they continued with great success, burning and destroying villages, forts, and houses, wherever they marched. The lord Gray was then at Roxburgh; but D'Essè, upon mustering his auxiliaries, found them so much reduced, that he was obliged to remain on the defensive, and to retire to Melrofs, from whence he marched to Edinburgh.

to the advantage of the Scots.

He found the English, who had the command of the sea, busied in augmenting and strengthening the fortifications of Inchkeith, an island about three miles from Leith, and the

the same distance from Fife; a situation which rendered it of the greatest importance. D'Effè undertook to reduce it; and the queen and her attendants promised to be witnesses of his gallantry from the shore. One Cotterel was the English governor, and made a gallant defence; but D'Effè having landed his men, drove the English, with considerable loss, within their fortifications; so that, in a few days, the island was surrendered by capitulation. This exploit was the last of D'Effè's military operations in Scotland, where the face of affairs were now greatly altered for the better. The Scots had acquired spirit, in proportion as the English lost it; and the divisions of the latter continued to enervate their government. Among other abuses, their muster-rolls upon the borders of Scotland were found to be so fictitious, that they generally contained double the numbers of the effective men; and even those were apt to desert, or return home, before the time of their service was elapsed. This seems to have been the true reason of the lord Gray's inactivity; for I meet with a proclamation, at this time, issued by the English government, against the abuses of the army, for enforcing the military law, and punishing desertion with death. Another abuse common upon the borders, and which we learn from the English records, was the appointing some companies of Spanish or foreign mercenaries to the border service

A. D. 1549. vice. These, with the disorderly English, subsisted upon plundering the Scots who were in the English interest, and who, in the proclamation, are called "Assured Scots."

Des Termes
arrives in
Scotland.

The French king had, by this time, sent very considerable supplies of men, money, and ammunition, to Scotland; so that when Des Termes landed, he found himself at the head of a respectable army; but the misconduct of the English government, and particularly of the protector duke, was of more service to the Scots, than all their French auxiliaries. The courts upon the continent were filled with the disgraces and losses which the English arms had suffered in Scotland; and the like reports were not only circulated, but aggravated, by the protector duke's enemies in England. Instead of endeavouring to remove the evil, by a prudent, vigorous conduct, he sought to stifle it by severe proclamations. His indiscretion had brought him into many difficulties with foreign courts. He was disregarded by that of the emperor; and the Guises, in France, openly acknowledged, that they were determined, at all events, to support the Scots, and to take the first opportunity of recovering Boulogne. Mount, the English agent in Germany, sent him an account, that the king of Denmark was willing to mediate between France and England; and Hoby, the English ambassador at the imperial court, was instructed by the protector, to enter into a negotiation

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Negotiations for a peace.

negociation for that purpose; and, if possible, to engage his Danish majesty to send a body of troops to Scotland, as auxiliaries to the English: the protector's instructions on this head are come to our hands. He was ordered to complain bitterly of the proceedings of the French, who, under pretence of the Scotch king employing the English shipping, robbed and plundered the latter, and sold their goods openly in their havens, and other places. He particularly complained of Strozzi, the admiral of the French gallies, who, without either provocation or ceremony, burnt, took, and confiscated the English vessels, whenever they fell in his way. The rest of Hoby's instructions represented the Scots as being by nature born subjects to the crown of England, and consequently rebels to the king, his nephew. Hoby certainly acted up to his orders; and there is great reason to believe, that the protector might have succeeded in the negociation, had he been able to take into pay a body of Danes; but he was disabled by the civil war, which was then raging in England, and was a prelude to his own ruin. France itself was, at this time, troubled with domestic commotions; and one Guidotti, a Florentine merchant, residing at Southampton, was employed by both courts, but without any formal commission, to draw the outlines of a treaty. The war, however, still went on in Scotland; and Des Termes, who

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had brought over with him an hundred cuirassiers, built a fort at a place called Aberlady; cut in pieces the Spanish and German troops, who had done such mischief on the borders, under one Romero, at Coldingham; and a party of Scotch militia surprized Fastcastle, where the garrison was put to the sword.

Haddington
surrendered
by the
English.

The fort of Aberlady distressed the garrison of Haddington, which was now more straitened than ever, and without hopes of being relieved. The earl of Rutland was then warden of the English northern marches, and had an army under him of about sixteen thousand men; but such was the internal situation of England, that he durst not march them out of the kingdom; and it was with difficulty that he prevented a rebellion from breaking out in the northern counties, which had been fomented by the Scots. The protector duke, after gaining some respite by the execution of his brother, and the suppression of the insurrections in the South, hearing of the extremity to which the garrison of Haddington was reduced, and that a contagious distemper was raging in the place, at last ordered the earl of Rutland to bring off the garrison. The earl performed this service with equal prudence and resolution; nor do I perceive that he met with any opposition from Des Termes; for he carried both the soldiers and the artillery safe to Berwic, about the first of October. Des Termes, after the evacuation of Haddington,

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dington, prepared to retake Broughty castle, which, on account of its situation; and the superiority of the English at sea, proved of infinite prejudice to the inhabitants of Fife and Angus. This was an undertaking of some difficulty; but Des Termes was so vigorously assisted by the townsmen of Dundee, under Haliburton their provost, and by the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, that he succeeded in the attempt. The garrison was cut in pieces; and Sir John Lutterel, an English gentleman of rank, was made prisoner.

The renewal of the civil commotions of England, and the untowardly state of the English affairs in Scotland, now rendered an accommodation with France almost necessary for that kingdom. The protector duke had received many sensible mortifications from his enemies; and had been obliged to make the most abject submissions, before he could recover his liberty. He had, while in power, mentioned the necessity of sacrificing Boulogne, which the English still kept possession of, to a peace with France. Though this had been made a charge against him by his enemies, yet when they came into power, they were obliged to adopt the very same measure; and commissioners, by Guidotti's management, were named, on both sides, for concluding the peace. Those for France were men noted for their aversion to the English; and those for Eng-

Fresh negotiations.

A.D. 1549.

land were, the lord Ruffel, secretary Paget, Sir William Petre, and Sir John Mafon, all of them noted for prudence and moderation. The place of conference was between Boulogne and Fort Outereau; and the conferences opened in the beginning of the year 1550.

1550.

The English ministers complained, with great justice, of the insolence of the French; but this was partly owing to the exorbitant demands of the English ministers. They ridiculously insisted upon the young queen of Scotland being given in marriage to their king, and upon their being paid off all the arrears due upon their subsidies. They likewise demanded, that certain fortifications which the French had raised at Havre de Grace, should be demolished. The French were so far from agreeing to those demands, that they frankly told the English commissioners, they were resolved to have Boulogne at any rate; that they looked upon themselves as no longer bound by any subsidiary treaties, or to be accountable for any arrears; and as to their master's marriage with the young queen of Scots, they threatened to break off the conferences, if it was ever mentioned any more. They intimated, at the same time, that they were willing, if the English would deliver up Boulogne, to pay them an equivalent in money; and that Edward, when he should come of age, might, if he pleased, pursue his other pretensions.

Panter,

Panter, bishop of Ross, was present at the conferences on the part of the Scotch government, though he is not mentioned in the treaty printed by Mr. Rymer. After various alterations, the English plenipotentiaries received new instructions to recede from their chief demands, provided the sum of money was paid for the redelivery of Boulogne. At last, a treaty was agreed upon; and that part of it which relates to Scotland, was in the following terms:

That the fort of Douglas (I suppose it ought to be Dunghass) and Lauder, built by the English, with all the cannon, &c. be delivered to the Scots; except the cannon that were brought from Haddington: but if these two forts be not in the hands of the English, in that event, the king of England shall be obliged to demolish the towns and castles of Roxburgh and Aymouth; nor shall it be lawful to the English, French, or Scots, to rebuild them. A treaty.

Item, Though the king of England shall restore Douglas and Lauder, yet he shall demolish Roxburgh and Aymouth, provided the queen of Scotland do the same with the castles of Douglas and Lauder; in which case, it shall not be lawful to the sovereigns of France, Scotland, nor England, nor their successors, ever to rebuild Roxburgh or Aymouth.

Item, The kingdom of Scotland shall be comprehended in this peace; and the English must

A. D. 1550. must not invade Scotland without a new and just offence given. And the queen of Scotland is obliged, within forty days after the date of this treaty, to certify the king of England, under her great seal, that she accepts the comprehension.

The omitting all mention of the Scotch ambassador's name, in a treaty which so essentially affected the interest of their country, was certainly a high insult offered to the independency of that kingdom, and seems to be owing to the French as well as the English. Henry having the queen's person in his power, considered her kingdom as forming part of his dominions; nor did any party then in Scotland resent this treatment, which was highly agreeable, at the same time, to the English. On the nineteenth of April following, a commission was made out, in the queen's name, for the lord Erskine to repair to England, and there accept of and ratify the comprehension of her subjects in the late treaty. This ratification was presented, on the eleventh of May, to the council-board of England, and ratified; but the lord (or, as some call him, and I believe the more truly, the master of) Erskine was charged with other commissions, which in the council-book of England are called requests. These related to certain arrangements to be observed towards the queen-mother, who intended to visit the French court, and to the release of the Scotch prisoners.

prisoners. The last was a matter of great difficulty; and that the demand was complied with, is an evident sign of the weakness of the English government. The Scots insisted upon their prisoners being treated in the same manner as those of France, that is, being set at liberty without any ransom. The Scots had but few English prisoners, compared to the number of their countrymen who were prisoners in England; and the captors expected to be paid ransom money. After the English council had agreed to Erskine's request, the discontent of the captors became so general, that the government thought proper to indemnify them out of the public money. One Proctor received two hundred pounds, and one Palmer two hundred marks, and the rest of the captors in proportion.

The maritime differences between Scotland and England came next to be settled, and proved of a very perplexing nature. During the late war upon the continent between France and the emperor, it had been common for the Scots, as allies of the French king, to make prizes of all ships belonging to the emperor's subjects; and what is very extraordinary, they generally carried them into the English ports, where they disposed both of the vessels and their cargoes, great part of which often belonged to English merchants. The emperor had long, and bitterly, complained of those

Maritime
differences

A. D. 1550. those proceedings, which he termed piratical; and of the ungenerous behaviour of the English, in making peace with France without his receiving any satisfaction on that account. The English merchants joining with the emperor in his complaints, the clamour became so loud against the Scots, that I find in the original council-book, the following minute entered on the twenty-third of June this year. "Upon a letter sent out of the west-country to the lord-admiral, touching the Scots bringing in of prizes into this realm, and the robbing as well of Englishmen as others, it was agreed, that the lord-admiral should write to all ports, that what prizes soever the Scots brought in after that sort, both the Scots and prizes should be staid, till it were known whether the prize were good or no, and whether the Scots had robbed any Englishmen or no."

with Eng-
land.

The Scots resented this order; but no hostilities followed. The regent earl of Arran more than suspected that the queen-dowager had resolved to supplant him in the regency; and that her intended visit to France was on that account. She had promised to do all the services in her power to the English nation at that court; but the regent seemed to study to renew the war with England. So late as the tenth of July, none of the English prisoners in Scotland had been set at liberty; and upon the return of Erskine from France, he was charged by the
English

A.D. 1550.

English council with a breach of honour on that account. The earl of Warwick was then warden of the east and middle marches towards Scotland, with an appointment of a thousand pounds a year, and a hundred light horsemen to serve him as his body-guard; but with liberty to retire to London; so that the business of the borders was left to the other wardens. All the appearances of a rupture continuing, a letter was sent to Sir Robert Bowes to solicit the freedom of the English prisoners in Scotland; but he received no satisfaction. On the twenty-second of July, Sir Richard Lee, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were sent by the council of England to survey the fortifications upon Holy Island, and those of Berwick, with instructions to repair both, and to make such additional works to Berwick, as should command the harbour as well as the town. After this, they were to visit Norham, Wark, Carlisle, and other places, and to put them in a proper state of defence; for which purpose, they had an unlimited credit upon the English treasurers of the north. Besides those provisions for defence against the Scots, in case of a rupture, the English government was at great expence in keeping up a party in Scotland against the regent. The earl of Bothwell, the same who had put himself under the English protection, received five hundred pounds, and the laird of Ormiston two hun-

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dred pounds extraordinary; that is, besides his usual pension, in recompence, as the English council-book expresse it, of his charges and losses sustained in the king's service.

A new war
breaks out.

The proceedings of the regent, and the manifest aversion he discovered towards the English government, were the reasons assigned for the hostile preparations of the English, who declared they were resolved to observe no farther terms with him and his friends. The bishop of Caithness returning from France without a passport, was arrested in England, and committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Palmer. The lord Maxwell was refused liberty to pass through England to France, which he resented so highly, that he invaded that part of the English border of which the lord Dacres was the warden; and, according to king Edward's journal, many skirmishes passed between the two nations on that account, the lord Dacres having orders from the council of England, to repel force by force. Mention is here made, in the English records, of the Græmes, whom the lord Dacres was ordered to encourage and protect. Though no notice is taken of such a clan by the Scotch historians, they appear to have been the relics of the ancient Meatae, and to have lived a kind of a wandering life in crims or tents (from which they probably had their name) between the two præteatures, without being fixed in their allegiance.

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allegiance to either crown, but as occasion or conveniency served them. Thus, in the council-books of England, we find them perpetually changing their party; and they were considered by both nations as military free-booters. The English council made, at the same time, very warm remonstrances to the French ambassadors, on lord Maxwell's behaviour; and I perceive, that on the sixteenth of August, letters were sent to the regent, claiming an English ship which had been taken since the treaty. Upon the whole, though we are ignorant of the particulars, there was, at that time, an actual war upon the borders of the two nations, which the regent was at very little pains to suppress.

Though it was understood, that upon the re-establishment of the peace between the two nations, the French troops were to evacuate Scotland; and though some of them actually had returned to France, it was not consistent with the queen-mother's plan, that their evacuation should be total. Five hundred French soldiers (according to the council-book of England) were then serving under lord Maxwell upon the borders, and the castles of Dunbar and Inchkeith had French garrisons. Add to this, that Des Termes, and the chief French officers, remained still in Scotland; and, under pretence of visiting the country, were acquainting themselves with its strength and situation. By this time, Leo Strozzi, the

The queen-dowager goes to France,

A. D. 1550. French admiral, arrived at Leith with a squadron of ships, which took the queen-dowager on board, with the chief of the French officers, and many Scotch noblemen, particularly the earls of Huntley, Sutherland, Cassils, the lords Maxwell and Fleming, and the bishop of Galloway. They landed at Dieppe in Normandy about the middle of October, and the queen-dowager immediately set out for Rouen, where she was received and highly cared for by the French king and court. No honours and privileges were, at this time, thought too great to be conferred upon the Scots in France, particularly those in the queen-mother's retinue. From Rouen the court removed to Paris, and from thence to Chartres and to Blois, where the queen-mother resided for the remaining part of the winter with her daughter.

where she
solicits to
be made re-
gent of
Scotland.

It was no difficult matter for that princess to make the French king sensible of the strength of her party in Scotland, of the great services they had performed to France in that country, and how necessary it was that the regent should be dismissed from the government, and herself substituted in his place. Henry, who now considered Scotland in the light of an acquisition to his own kingdom, was for uniting it in its obedience; and though he had no objection to the queen-dowager taking upon her the regency, he insisted upon its being voluntarily resigned by the earl of Arran, and on his, more than,

than, fulfilling the promises I have already mentioned. With these views, Sir Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, (ancestor to the earl of Southesk, a title now extinct, and an intimate friend of the regent, who had sent him the year before with a public character to France) Panter bishop of Ross, and Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning, two other counsellors highly trusted by the regent, were consulted on the occasion. Henry confirmed the regent in his duchy of Chateleheraut, he had made his son captain of the Scotch guards, and of all the Scots serving in France, and had bestowed posts and preferments on his other sons and relations. Those high honours were to be accompanied by the annual pension of twelve thousand crowns; and it was agreed, that Carnegie and the bishop of Ross should go to Scotland, and propose the resignation to the regent. He complied, but with some difficulty; and Panter, for this service, obtained a rich abbey in Poitou.

Hostilities between the two nations, on the borders, still continuing, the French ambassador, at the court of England, procured a meeting of the commissioners on both sides. There the English revived their demand of ransom for the Scotch prisoners taken at Solway-Moss, to which they received a flat denial, and the affair was dropt; but this was far from satisfying the Scots; and their ambassador, Erskine, demanded an audience

A. D. 1550.

audience of the king, and a peremptory answer to what he was to lay before him. The reader, in the notes, will find the result of this application, which is entered upon the council-book of England *. One particular of this entry is very remarkable; for though Erskine had received his instructions before the queen-mother left Scotland, no mention is made of the regent; and the demand is made in the name of the queen and council there. The answer of the English council was communicated to Mafon, their embassador in France. The state of Henry's affairs (he being then at war with the emperor) did not suffer him to differ with the English, and the distractions of the English ministry, rendered the friendship of France necessary for their safety. The lord Dacres had orders from the council, to soften the lord Maxwell as much as he could, and to

* "The master of Erskine, embassador out of Scotland, had access to the king's majesty, with letters, the sum of whose message was, that since the realm of Scotland was comprehended in the treaty, the queen, and council there desired to know, whether the king's highness, and the council, meant they should enjoy their old limits, in like manner as they did before the wars."

"After he had been with the king, answer was made, upon deliberation, by the council, that there was nothing meant of our party, but the continuance of the amity with France, and the comprehension towards them, according to the treaty, as it had well appeared by the effects passed on our part. We know, however, that they have required divers things more than reasonable, which we ought not to satisfy; and, therefore, if they seek redress of any thing, (as we think they have no cause) then let the French king by his ministers, declare it, and we shall accordingly make him answer, with whom the treaty hath been concluded, and not with them."

prevent

prevent the farther continuance of hostilities. A. D. 1550

The Scots, who were no strangers to the situation of the English government, had carried a rich Spanish ship, as a prize, into the harbour of Rye; and the English complained, that the narrow seas were invested by Scotch pirates, under the command of one Edmonston. I shall not trouble the reader with all the little events and differences which those mutual complaints occasioned. It is sufficient to say, that the French court, during the queen-mother's residence in France, had a manifest ascendancy over that of England. When the time of her departure drew near, her intention to pass thro' England to Scotland was signified to Edward and his council, who gave orders to receive her with the greatest magnificence; or if she chose to proceed by sea, she was to have liberty to land, for a few days refreshment, with all her attendants, in any port of England or Ireland. This remarkable complaisance, and some other little civilities paid by the English government to the Scots and French passing through England, produced a new negotiation; and Robert bishop of Orkney, Robert lord Maxwell, Thomas master of Erskine, Lewis de St. Gelais lord of Lansac, and Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, clerk of the treasury, were appointed commissioners for Scotland. Those for England were Thomas bishop of Norwich,

She intends
to return
through
England.

1551.

Sir

A. D. 1551. Sir Robert Bowes, Sir Leonard Beckwith, and Sir Thomas Chaloner.

Fresh negotiations.

Before the negotiations could be opened, the French king had made up all differences between the Scots and the emperor, on account of the maritime depredations that had been committed by them upon his subjects. The French embassador, Lanillac, had, among other matters with which he was charged, declared in the English council, that his master had undertaken the protection of Scotland, and demanded "First, the restitution of the fortresses of Edrington, the fishings of Tweed, with the neutral estate of the debateable grounds, and to have every thing upon the marches put on the same footing as before the last war. Secondly, That the English who had been prisoners in Scotland, and set at liberty upon their engaging to pay their ransoms, should be obliged to pay the same. In the third place, he demanded that the Scots should have liberty of commerce with England; and that all the Scotch ships seized since the conclusion of the peace, should be restored. Lastly, he demanded, that the Scotch hostages for prisoners, taken at Solway-Moss, should be delivered upon the same terms as the prisoners taken in the castle of St. Andrew's had been by the French king." The council took some days to deliberate upon the answer to those demands.

mands. On the fourteenth of February, the A. D. 1551
embassador had it, to the following effect :

“ First, That though the king might, agreeable to the last treaty, have refused the restitution of Edrington, and other possessions in Scotland ; yet that he would speedily send to the French king a messenger, with a satisfactory answer to that demand. Secondly, all prisoners, who actually had their liberty, upon promise of ransom, before the late treaty, should be obliged to pay the same, provided the Scots were bound to the like condition. Thirdly, that all Scots ships detained in England, pirates excepted, should be delivered. That all ships of the same nation, driven into English harbours by stress of weather, or other necessity, should have leave to depart, according to the treaty between Edward the fourth and James the third ; but that no farther liberty of commerce could be allowed to the Scots. Lastly, That the king reserved his answer concerning the hostages, to be imparted to the French king, by the special messenger whom he was to send to that court.”

By this time, Edmondston and his piratical crews had been suppressed by the English ships of war, and brought prisoners to England. Twenty-nine of the Scots pleaded, that they were forced, or decoyed, to serve Edmondston. They were, however, tried and cast for their lives. The French minister, Lanslac, inter-

Scotch pirates suppressed and executed.

A. D. 1551. posed in their favour, particularly for thirteen, whose cases were favourable, till he could receive instructions from his court. The answer of the council was, that the honour of England was concerned in maintaining the sovereignty of the seas; but that they were willing to grant a respite for the thirteen; and that the embassador's behaviour was so honest and so gentle, that they were ready to pardon two or three of the others at his request. This and many other concessions of the same kind, prove how very unwilling the English government, at this time, was to come to a rupture with France. The other requests of the Scots, at the court of England, particularly that of settling the borders between the two nations, remained still undecided; and Lanflac demanded to know the names of the commissioners who were appointed to transact that affair. In this he was gratified; and after some meetings, a treaty was concluded at Norham, for putting an end to the border, and all other differences, between the two kingdoms.

Boundaries
between
Scotland
and Eng-
land settled

By this treaty, the boundaries of Scotland and England were to be the same as they had been before the war between Henry the eighth and James the fifth. The debateable ground was to be restored in the same manner as it was before that war, till the right of it should otherwise be discussed, and all intruders of either

ther nation into the same, were to be expelled, A. D. 1551
 if they did not leave it by a certain day. Berwick was comprehended in the treaty, and the English were to evacuate Edrington, and to give up all the fisheries that had belonged to the Scots before the late war. All hostages and captives detained in any nation, on any account, were to be dismissed without ransom. Neither prince was to harbour or countenance the rebels of the other, but were to deliver them, and all kind of malefactors up, upon requisition, in ten days. Regulations were laid down for apprehending and punishing murderers and robbers of either nation. Ships distressed putting into the harbours of either prince, were to be free; and the treaty was to be ratified, by both parties, in six days after the date, which was accordingly done.

Such, with some immaterial additions, was the treaty of Norham, by which the Scots gained their long-disputed point of obtaining the freedom of their Solway-Moss prisoners, without any ransom. While that negotiation continued, the council of England pretended to be alarmed with a conspiracy formed by the Scotch borderers to betray Berwick; and that two of their number were actually in France receiving orders for that purpose. A letter was immediately sent by the council to Sir Robert Bowes, describing the persons of the supposed conspirators, ordering him to put the

by the
treaty of
Norham.

A. D. 1551.

governor of Norham upon his guard, and to suffer no Scotchman, on any account, to enter the town of Berwick. The treaty, however, restored a temporary tranquillity to the borders, but it was soon interrupted.

Debates in
the French
council.

The queen-mother of Scotland, before she left France, had secured a party in the English ministry, by affecting even to favour the Reformed in Scotland, and to take part with the English ambassadors in all their negotiations and complaints at the French court. She had, during the summer, received two safe-conducts from Edward; but was detained at Dieppe, on account of a quarrel between the French king and the emperor, whose fleet actually lay in wait to intercept her. This complaisance, on the part of Edward, was, in a great measure, owing to his hoping to reconcile her, in a personal interview, to his marriage with her daughter, to which his ministry still said he was entitled, by the act of the Scotch parliament. He was encouraged in his hopes, by the intelligence he received of a strong opposition, of which the duke de Montmorenci was the head, to her marriage with the dauphin. It was urged, that the French, by annexing Scotland to their crown, must entail upon themselves an eternal war with England; that the Scots would, in that case, leave the defence of their country to the French, as they would be no longer animated with that noble spirit

A. D. 1551.

spirit of independency, which had so often enabled them to make head against the power of England; that Henry ought, by all means, to give the young queen's hand to one of the princes of his own blood, and that they should directly be sent over to reside in Scotland. Though this appears to have been very sound reasoning, yet it made no impression upon Henry. He continued still under the direction of the Guises, the most artful, ambitious family in Europe, and passionately fond of seeing their niece married to the dauphin, as the match would secure their own grandeur in France.

A favourable opportunity presenting, the queen-mother set sail, and landed at Portsmouth on the twenty-second of October, from whence she proceeded to Hampton-court, and then to London; where, on the fourth of November, she entered Whitehall in her chariot, and was received by Edward in person. The ceremonies, magnificence, and honours, with which she was treated during her abode in England, may be seen in the notes *, as they are too remark-

Reception
of the
queen-dow-
ager in
England.

* Mr. Stow and Hollinshed tell us, that she came to Whitehall accompanied by the lady Margaret Douglas countess of Lennox, the duchesses of Suffolk, Richmond, and Northumberland, and divers other ladies, both Scottish and English. At the gate of the court, the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, and the lord-treasurer, were ready to receive her: And at her entering into the hall, the king stood in the upper end thereof, the earl of Warwick holding the sword of state before him. As she advanced to the king, these historians say, she kneeled down; but
I sup-

A. D. 1551. able to be entirely omitted. Edward, who, young as he was, possessed a greater share of understanding than his first minister, took an opportunity, in a private conference he had with the queen, to lay before her the pretensions he

I suppose, they mean no more, than that she observed the common forms of decency, observed among princes of her rank, at that time. They add, that he took her up, kissed her, and taking her by the hand, led her into his own chamber of presence, and afterwards into that of the queen, where he kissed all the Scottish ladies, and so departed for a while. Her majesty dined that day in the queen's apartment with the king; our queen sitting by the king, apart by his cloth of state: And all the ladies, both of Scotland and England, dined in the queen's great chamber. After dinner, the king shewed her his gallery and gardens, &c. and about four in the afternoon, he brought her down again, by the hand, into the hall, where he first received her, and there kissing her, she took her leave, and returned to the bishop's palace, from whence she came. The sixth day of the month she departed for Scotland, passing forth of the city, at Bishopsgate. The duke of Northumberland, the earl of Pembroke, and the lord-treasurer, conducted her to Shoreditch church, and there took leave of her. The duke of Northumberland had one hundred men on horseback with javelins, whereof forty were gentlemen, clad in black velvet coats, garded with white, and hats of black velvet, with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earl of Pembroke had one hundred and twenty men, well appointed also, with black javelins, and hats with feathers. And the lord-treasurer had one hundred gentlemen and yeomen, with javelins, in like manner, well apparelled: Which three companies of horsemen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosses in Cheapside, to Birchen-lane end. The sheriffs of London conducted her to the town of Waltham, where she lodged that night. And in every shire through which she passed, the sheriff, with the gentlemen, gave her majesty attendance, till she came to enter into the next shire. And that order was observed, until she came to the borders of Scotland. All her charges for meat and drink to herself and all her train, and provision for their horses, being borne and allowed by the king, says Hollinshed, but Stow says, at the charges of the shires through which she passed. Keith's Hist. of Scotland, p. 57.

had

A. D. 1551.

had to her daughter's hand in marriage; and added, with a gallantry not common to his nature, that he must be at perpetual enmity with any prince who should enjoy that happiness. He then urged how far more preferable, in point of policy, a match must be with a king of England, than with a dauphin of France. The queen-mother artfully laid hold of this intimation, to throw the blame of her daughter being sent to France, and the Scots calling in assistance from that kingdom, to the imprudence and violence of his uncle the late protector, who had invaded Scotland with an army so powerful, as to force her nobility into those disagreeable measures, and to put themselves under French protection. She concluded, however, with great politeness, that she wished she had known his majesty's sentiments on that head before, but that she would not fail to second his pretensions at the court of France, and endeavour to influence that king in his favour. Two days after, she left London, and arrived in Scotland towards the latter end of December, after receiving in England a greater profusion of honours than ever had been paid to any royal guest before. But I am now to attend to the internal affairs of Scotland, during her absence.

When the regent was prevailed upon to agree to the resignation of the government in favour of the queen-mother, his natural brother the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and treasurer of the kingdom,

She endeavours to obtain the regency.

A. D. 1551. kingdom, was confined to his bed by (to all appearance) a mortal sickness, from which he was afterwards recovered by that noted empiric Cardan, who affected to have the public believe, that his cures were performed by magic, rather than medicine. The reader will, perhaps, not be displeased to find in the notes some account of this famous cure *, which, according to the author, was grounded upon a calculation he had made of the archbishop's nativity. During his illness, the affairs of his archbishopric were administered by his relation Gavin Hamil-

* It is no wonder then that our prelate having heard of this famous physician, and labouring under a troublesome disease, should have consulted him; but how this affair was transacted, we learn from Cardan himself, who tells us, that the bishop being attacked with an asthma, it at length came to be so periodical, that every eight days it came on so violently, that for the space of twenty-four hours he had no relief, and for this he had consulted the physicians of the emperor Charles the fifth, and Henry king of France, but found no relief: at length, hearing of me, he wrote for me; and for the defraying of my expences from Milan to Lyons, he caused to be transmitted to me, by his physician, two hundred crowns of gold. Then he tells us, that he began his journey for Scotland in the year 1552, upon the eighth of the calends of March; and that when he came to Lyons, he met William Casanatus, the archbishop's physician, who brought him three hundred crowns of gold for his pocket-money, all his other expences, in his journey to Scotland, being defrayed upon the archbishop's charges. Having arrived safely in Scotland, he found the archbishop of St. Andrew's at his own palace, where, in a short time, he recovered him of his asthma, and returned again to Italy, the archbishop having rewarded him, at parting, with four hundred crowns of gold, and double the value of that money in chains of gold, medals, and precious stones; and this is all the magick that was used in recovering of our prelate to his former state of health. Mackenzie's Scots Writers, vol. 3. p. 108.

ton,

ton, a young man, abbot of Kilwinning, who had been guilty of some violent proceedings against the reformers, through which, the archbishop's name was detested by that party. The truth is, the archbishop, by his conduct on this occasion, shewed himself no unworthy disciple of his predecessor cardinal Beaton; for he no sooner gained a respite from his disease, than he employed all the great influence he had over the regent, in counter-working what he had promised to the queen-mother.

A. D. 1551.

Before the convention at Norham was signed, the regent had held a parliament at Edinburgh, where the severe laws which had passed against the reformed under James the fifth were revived, with "additional terrors for the excommunicated, for whatever cause accursed, who continued under that censure for one year; and that they who, tho' irreconciled to the church, yet, nevertheless, have partook of the body of God in the holy sacrament, shall forfeit their moveables to the queen." This impolitic law, produced several inhuman prosecutions on account of religion; and though not mentioned by Keith, its operations promoted the interest of the Reformation. In the same parliament, some acts were passed for rebuilding Edinburgh and Leith, which had been twice burnt since the days of James the fifth. It is difficult to account for a law which passed in the same parliament, making it capital for any subject to kill wild beasts

A Scotch
parliament
held at
Edinburgh.

A. D. 1551. or deer with fire-arms, but by supposing that there was then a great scarcity of gunpowder in the kingdom.

Unpopularity of the earl of Arran,

The queen-mother, after her arrival in Scotland, was not displeased at the harshness of the regent's proceedings in matters of religion. She easily saw that he wanted to evade the resignation of the regency. She knew how much the French court was disposed to favour him; and that it would be difficult, if not impracticable, to force him into an abdication. She therefore wisely resolved to avail herself of his unpopularity, which was daily encreasing by the violence of the archbishop, and which must, at last, compel him to quit the reins of government. She connected herself with the earl of Angus and his family, and procured the title of earl of Morton for the son of his brother Sir George Douglas. She took the earls of Huntley and Argyle into her councils; and made use of her own, and their authority, to compose private differences among the nobility and great families of the kingdom. She favoured the professors of the Reformation so much, that they considered her as their patroness; and she became the object of public affection and esteem, in proportion as the regent's popularity abated.

The parliament meets.

1552.

A parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh in February 1552, where many regulations were made with regard to the prices of wines,

wines, and against their being adulterated. A. D. 1552.
 Twenty pounds Scots, then amounting to about
 forty-five shillings English, were fixed as the
 price of a tun of Bourdeaux wine. All other
 French wines were to be sold in proportion; Black Acts,
fol. 151.
 nor were the subjects to exceed that rate. The
 best Bourdeaux wine was to be retailed at the
 rate of one penny English, for two English
 quarts; but an abatement was made for other
 wines. From those, and some other particu-
 lars to be found in the notes *, the reader may
 form some idea of the value which money
 bore in Scotland at this time. The fixing the
 wages of workmen, and regulating the bills of
 innkeepers, were recommended to the magi-
 strates of boroughs, who were to give their opi-
 nion, on those heads, to the lords of articles;
 so as, if approved of, to be reduced into a
 public act.

From the proceedings of this parliament, it
 appears, as if the late wars with England had
 greatly affected agriculture, and the breeding
 of live stock. It was found, therefore, neces-
 sary to prohibit the bringing of lambs, and

Its proceed-
ings.

* And as there was a scarcity both of wild and tame fowl,
 their prices were regulated by parliament, as follows: The crane
 and swan, each 5s. the wild goose, 2s. the clack, quink, and
 rute, 1s. 6d. each; plover, and small muir fowl, each 4d. black
 cock and grey hen, 6d. the dozen of powts, 1s. the whap, 6d.
 the lapron, 2d. woodcock, 4d. larks, and other small birds, 4d.
 the snipe and quail, each 2d. a tame goose, 1s. 4d. capon, 1s.
 hen and poultry, 8d. chicken, 4d. a pig, 1s. 6d. Offenders were
 not only to forfeit their goods, but also to be corporally pu-
 nished. Black Acts.

A. D. 1552. some other young animals, to market for three years; and a sumptuary law was found necessary, for preventing dearth, and lowering the exorbitant price of provisions. It was therefore enacted, under severe penalties, that no archbishop, bishop, or earl, should have more than eight dishes of meat at his table. No abbot, lord, prior, or dean, more than six; no baron or freeholder more than four; no burgesses or wealthy person, whether spiritual or temporal, more than three; and only one kind of meat in each. Among various other laws for the reformation of manners, and for preventing indecencies in the time of divine worship, it was made penal for an excommunicated person to be present at mass, or to force the priest to say it in his presence.

Abuse of
the press.

It is certain, from publications still extant, that, besides the degeneracy of morals among the papists, the Reformed had made a most unmerciful, and in some measure unjustifiable, use of the press. Many of them had renounced the errors of popery, not so much from the convictions of conscience, as through the contempt which they had for its clergy, on account of their gross ignorance, superstition, and immorality of every kind. As poetry had been fashionable in the late reign, many wits diverted themselves by ridiculing a religion founded on such absurdities, and taught by such professors: but their compositions were too

too often indecent, and sometimes illiberal. A. D. 1552.
 Add to this, that many translations of foreign authors, and some original compositions in favour of the Reformation, were now common in Scotland; so that the popish clergy thought a licensing act absolutely necessary. It was conceived in the following terms: "Forasmuch as there are divers printers in this realm, that continually print books concerning the faith, ballads, songs, rymes, blasphemies of churchmen, as well as laicks, with tragedies in Latin as well as in English, not seen and considered by the superiors, to the great scandal of this realm; it is therefore ordained by the lord-governor, with advice of the three estates, that no printer shall presume to print any book, &c. till it is revised by some wise person appointed by the ordinaries, and a licence to be obtained from the queen and the lord-governor; under pain of confiscation of goods, and being banished the realm."

Black Acts,
 fol. 151,
 152.

Upon the rising of this parliament, D'Oyffel the French embassador, who had still continued in Scotland, returned to France, with an ample testimony from the queen-mother and the regent, written with consent of the states, of the services he had done to France, in Scotland. Panter bishop of Ross, who had resided for about seven years in France, returned to Scotland at the same time. His presence there was the more

The regent's backwardness to resign.

A.D. 1552. more necessary, as the queen-mother stood in need of his great abilities and experience in the management of her affairs. She found the regent, who was now designed by the title of duke of Chateleheraut, more averse than ever to the resignation of his authority. He was sensible that his party was declining; and he endeavoured to keep it up by an unbounded profusion of money and places, which he lavished among his friends. This had rendered it impossible for him to account for his intermeddlings with the public money; and he was so entirely at the disposal of others, that he was now obliged to supply his exigencies by new acts of rapine. Under pretence of reforming the public disorders, he undertook a progress, northwards, as far as Inverness, in the summer, and held justice-courts in all the towns through which he passed. Some poor thieves were hanged; but all the rich malefactors were suffered to commute their penalties for money, to the great scandal of the public. He then made the like progresses through the east and western parts of the kingdom, where he bestowed the honour of knighthood on several gentlemen of distinction. At Jedburgh he ratified a treaty which had been made for settling the boundaries of the debateable lands between Scotland and England; but he found the inhabitants there so disorderly, that he turned

turned the magistrates out of their offices, and obliged the heads of several families to give hostages for their good behaviour. A. D. 1552.

The queen-mother, whose party was daily encreasing, carefully attended him in all those progresses, on the double account of learning the true disposition of the kingdom, and of ingratiating herself with the subjects, by her mild, agreeable behaviour. In this she was so successful, that I find her name is inserted in many of the public papers before that of the regent. Finding the nobility, in general, disposed in her favour, she employed the bishop of Ross to put the regent in mind, in the beginning of the year 1553, that it was now high time for him to do with a good grace, what must be extorted from him, if longer deferred. Panter added, that he was, in fact, no longer regent, because the young queen had actually appointed the French king and her uncles to be her curators. Those, and many other considerations, urged home upon the regent; but above all, the growing interest of the Reformation; the alienation of the great nobility from his person, and the power of the French king, made a deep impression upon his mind. He insisted, however, upon two conditions, as preliminaries to his demission. The first was, that he should be indemnified, under the guaranty of the French king and the Scotch parliament, for all his intromissions with the late king's

Artful conduct of the queen-mother.

1553.

A. D. 1553. king's effects, and for all the money that had been raised during his regency. The second condition was, that if the young queen died, he and his descendents should be declared, by act of parliament, next heirs to the crown. The queen-mother made no objections to those conditions, and sent them to France, from whence they were returned with the proper ratifications; but when the time came, fixed by the regent himself, for his demission, he started fresh difficulties. He insisted upon the young queen not having completed the twelfth year of her age, in which she was, by law, entitled to chuse her curators. The queen-mother endeavoured to prove, that in such cases, every sovereign prince, added to the years of his life, the time in which he lived in his mother's belly; and she produced, at the same time, a full deputation from her daughter and curators, to take upon her the government of the kingdom.

The regent continued his objections. He said, that the supplementary year was only allowed to male sovereigns, and still insisted upon farther time. In short, nothing decisive was done during this year, because the French king was unwilling to employ force against the regent, and because the popish clergy, abroad, considered him, and the archbishop of St. Andrew's, as the only props of their religion in Scotland. The queen-mother perceiving this tendernefs,

tendernefs, reluctantly acquiefced ; but took care to form fuch a party among the nobility, as fhould force the regent into a compliance, if he fhould trifle any longer. Her chief friends were the earls of Athol, Huntley, Argyle, Angus, and Caffils, and with them ſhe retired to Stirling, where it was refolved to ſummon a general council of the nobility, as it is called, in the following ſpring.

The regent, of a fudden, found himſelf deſerted by all his friends, excepting the arch-biſhop of St. Andrew's, and his kingſman the lord Livingſton, who remained with him at Edinburgh, while the reſt of the nobility were preparing to attend the parliament at Stirling. He received a letter from the earl of Huntley, adviſing him, that the nobility were reſolved to force him to the reſignation of the regency, if he did not voluntarily abdicate. This letter made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the regent, that he entered into a new, but ſerious, treaty with the queen-mother ; and, as a mark of his ſincerity, he ſurrendered the caſtle of Edinburgh into the hands of the lord Erſkine. The queen-mother, to encourage his pacific ſentiments, promiſed, on her part, that no paſt miſunderſtandings ſhould leſſen the obligations which ſhe and her family was under for his friendſhip ; and that ſhe would confirm and perform all, and more than, ſhe had ſtipulated in his favour, either for herſelf or the French

The regent
deſerted by
his friends,

1554.

A. D. 1554.

king. The regent then repaired to the parliament at Stirling, where the agreement made between him, the French king, and the queen-mother, was openly read, and ratified by the assembly. The session was then adjourned to Edinburgh, on the tenth of April. The regent there, according to a promise he had made at Stirling, abdicated, by formally arising from his seat, and, in full parliament, resigning the royal crown, sword, and sceptre, to D'Oyffel the French embassador, who had returned to Scotland as commissioner for the queen in France. An instrument was then read, under the hands of the young queen and her curators, appointing the queen-mother regent of the kingdom; and on the twelfth of April she was proclaimed as such accordingly.

and resigns
his post.

This was the period of Chatleheraut's regency. It is scarcely to be found in history, that a weak, timid, irresolute, substitute in government, obnoxious to, and abandoned by, all parties, ever obtained so easy and so advantageous a dismissal from power, or ever held it so long. This was owing to the opinion which the public had of his honesty; to his being next in succession to the crown, and to the earnest desire which the French king had to extinguish all the parties in Scotland. The nation, however, was in a most deplorable situation. Its government, and the sentiments of the public, were directly contrary to each other.

The

A. D. 1554.

The former was lodged with an artful, ambitious woman; who was an instrument in the hands of her own family, the most papistical of any in Europe. The bulk of the Scotch nation, on the contrary, were deeply impregnated with the doctrines of the Reformation; and their great men had already, in their own minds, partitioned out for themselves the revenues and territorial possessions of the church. Many of them, as I have already mentioned, had been pensioners to the English court, and many were indifferent to all religion, but that which could best serve their own interest. I may add to those considerations, that ever since the death of James the fifth, the violent reformers in Scotland, the famous John Knox, particularly, had been secretly propagating among their followers, a rooted aversion to all government by females, a doctrine which gathered strength upon the death of Edward the sixth of England, and the accession of his sister, vulgarly, but justly, called the Bloody queen Mary.

I have strong inducements to believe the report of Buchanan, who says, that when the lord Erskine was appointed governor of Edinburgh castle, he was directed, by parliament, to deliver it up to no person, without an order of the states; a most noble proof of the public opinion of his patriotism and disinterestedness. The duke of Chatleheraut received, at the same time, the government of the castle

The independency of Scotland endangered.

A. D. 1554.

of Dumbarton, as a testimony how well pleased the queen-mother, or rather the French king, was with his quiet resignation of the regency. In short, every step taken by the government, plainly indicated a fixt resolution to render Scotland a dependent province upon France. This was no new scheme. The French court had sent over some of their most refined politicians, particularly the famous Montluc, to draw up a plan of an union between the two kingdoms; but they made no progress in their commission, and returned to France, disgusted with the parties that prevailed in Scotland, and the spirit of independency that possessed the common people. The queen-regent attempted to effect what they had failed in. No sooner was she invested with the regency, and publicly installed, that she raised one Villemont to be comptroller of the finances; another Frenchman, Rubey, was made keeper of the great seal, and vice-chancellor of Scotland; and Bonot, another of the same country, was appointed governor of the Orkney islands. Those promotions (particularly that of Rubey, who was intended to render the earl of Huntley, lord-chancellor, and one of the most powerful noblemen in Scotland, a mere cypher in the government) gave infinite disquiet, even to the Scots who were best affected towards the regent-queen. Nothing but a blind partiality to her own family and country, could have induced

induced so sensible a princess to make such im-
 politic promotions. She was encouraged by
 the death of Edward the sixth of England,
 and the accession of his sister queen Mary to
 that crown, on whom she depended for assist-
 ance, in all the secret and deep designs she had
 laid for checking the progress of the Refor-
 mation. Many of the Scotch reformers had
 received not only protection, but preferment
 in England; but queen Mary, impolitically, on
 a religious account, not only stopt the pensions
 of all the Scots, but drove the reformers out of
 England.

This did not prevent the queen-regent of
 Scotland from taking part with the French in
 their differences with England, on account of
 the proposed marriage between the queen and
 the emperor's eldest son, Philip of Austria.
 They had privately favoured Wyat's rebellion;
 and, had it succeeded, the queen-regent intend-
 ed to have invaded England. For this purpose,
 one of the first acts of her regency, was her
 erecting magazines at Jedburgh, and her re-
 pairing thither in person. This alarmed the
 lord Conyers, one of the English deputy-war-
 dens so much, that he sent advice of her mo-
 tions to the earl of Shrewsbury, who nar-
 rowly watched her; but upon the suppression
 of Wyat's rebellion, she returned to Edin-
 burgh. Nothing could be more distant from
 the queen of England's thoughts, than a rup-
 ture

Pacific dis-
 position of
 the English
 court.

THE HISTORY

ture with Scotland at that time, as appeared from his conduct in the affairs of the borders. The Græmes, whom I have already mentioned, had given infinite disquiet to lord Maxwell, the chief of the Scotch wardens; and he declared, unless he received satisfaction, that he would proceed to hostilities. The old lord Dacres, one of the most turbulent subjects in England, and the inveterate enemy of Scotland, had openly declared himself the patron of him who had been put to death in the late reign. This Armstrong is often mentioned in the council-books of England; and he acted as an independent power, for he robbed the subjects of both nations with the utmost impartiality. The queen of England hearing of those disorders, and afraid of embroiling herself with the Scots, sent Dacres a severe reprimand, and ordered the earl of Shrewsbury to repair, in person, to the borders, and to give the Scots all reasonable satisfaction. His presence had such an effect, that the lord Dacres forced the Græmes to give security, to answer for their depredations upon the Scots.

A fresh negotiation.

This expedient, though afterwards found to be ineffectual, brought on a treaty with England. The commissioners for Scotland were Sir Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, and Sir John Ballenden of Auchnoul; and those for England

Sir

Sir Thomas Cornwallis, and Sir Robert Bowes. A.D. 1554.

The whole of the treaty, which they concluded, is not upon record; so that it probably was no more than a ratification of former treaties; but the two following articles have come to our hands, viz. "That if any person of the one kingdom, should forcibly take from another person of the other kingdom, any one fish or fishes that had been caught by that other person; in that case the injuring person should pay twenty-pence sterling, over and above any mulct that might be forfeited by former laws. And, Secondly, That if any of either's subjects shall happen to come, by stress of weather or otherwise, into any part of either's kingdom; such persons shall be allowed to depart without any interruption, provided that he obtain a certificate of his arrival from the magistrate of the next adjacent port or town; and that during his abode, he hath acted nothing contrary to the laws of the kingdom whither it hath been his lot to arrive."

All precautions were in vain for stopping the depredations of the Græmes, and other robbers. The truth is, they were privately encouraged by the wardens themselves, to whom they were tributary; and they found a retreat in Northumberland, where they were protected by the great landholders. When the queen-regent of Scotland complained of this, she was answered, by recriminations, that the Scots had given refuge to

English
council-
book of
queen
Mary.

A. D. 1554.

to certain unlawful coiners and forgerers of the English money. The queen-regent upon this, ordered a body of troops again to advance to Jedburgh; and every thing seemed to threaten a rupture between the two nations, when a Danish fleet appeared upon the coasts. As the Danish and imperial courts were then closely united, and as the queen-regent knew nothing of the destination of the Danish fleet, she called the troops from the borders, to oppose any descent that might be made; but it was soon known, that the Danes had put this armament to sea, only to protect their own trade, and that of the emperor's subjects, from the depredations of the Scotch and English pirates. When this danger blew over, the lord Wharton, a wise and moderate nobleman, proposed a fresh negotiation upon the borders.

1555. The English records (to whom we owe all the knowledge we have of those transactions) say, that the meeting was accordingly held, the twelfth of May, at Reddingbourn, where the lord Wharton and his deputies appeared at the head of two thousand well armed men, on an information, if we may believe some authors, that the queen-regent intended to surprise him. There is no other foundation for this charge, than the mutual jealousies which reigned between the people; and the queen-regent having ordered Cesford, a gentleman of great interest in that country, to assemble a body of men

men for the protection of the Scotch commissioners, during the conferences. Three meetings were held at Coldstream and Reddingbourn, and a fourth at Norham, where both sides produced estimates of their respective losses, amounting to a thousand robberies and murders, committed by each. As it was impracticable to enter upon any discussion, it was proposed to fall upon the robbers, the Armstrongs and the Græmes, and to put them to the sword. The old lord Dacres pretended, that the Græmes were under his protection; but he engaged they should give no assistance to the Armstrongs, nor be guilty of farther robberies. He undertook for more than he could perform; for when the earl of Bothwell and Drumlanrig, as wardens of the Scotch west marches, attempted to execute this agreement, and had fired the houses of some of the outlaws, the Græmes, notwithstanding all the authority of the lord Dacres, twice surprized and routed the earl of Bothwell, he himself narrowly escaping, and leaving some gentlemen of distinction prisoners in the hands of the rebels.

A. D. 1555.

Hostilities
upon the
borders.

July 22.

The queen-regent of Scotland complained bitterly of the English government, and of the lord Dacres particularly, as having encouraged the outlaws in this rebellion. The council of England repeated their orders to lord Dacres to withdraw his protection from the Græmes,

Local disputes.

A. D. 1555. and to deliver them up to lord Fleming, one of the Scotch wardens; but his answer was, that the Græmes were persons of good service to the crown. The English council were too much embarrassed with their own affairs upon the continent, to oblige Dacres to execute their orders. They were informed, that the complaints of the Scots were destitute of foundation, and had been espoused by the queen-regent, merely that she might have a pretext to give a diversion to the English arms by an invasion. They were so well convinced of this, that they ordered Berwick, of which the lord Wharton was governor, to be reinforced and revictualled, and the earl of Shrewsbury to raise fourteen thousand men in the northern counties. Those dispositions seem to have preserved the peace of the borders during the remaining part of this year.

*Strype's
Collections.*

*Disorders
suppressed,
and the earl
of Huntley
prosecuted.*

The queen-regent, in the beginning of her administration, affected a great zeal for the reformation of the laws, and the regular administration of justice, in Scotland. She could not, however, help perceiving, how much disgusted the great lords, even those who were best affected to her daughter's family, were at her partiality for the French. At the head of those nobleman was the earl of Huntley, who had always acted with a becoming spirit of independency upon France, as well as England. The prodigious disorders that, of late, had been

com-

committed in the Highlands, and the north, where Huntley's great interest lay, gave her a handle for employing him in suppressing the Moidarts, the Clanronalds, and the other outlaws of those parts, who were Huntley's determined enemies, because he pretended they were his vassals. A commission was accordingly issued for him to march with an army to a place called Abertarf, and there to attack the outlaws. The earl either disliked the service, or was not obeyed by his men; for it is certain that he returned without executing his commission, on pretence of a mutiny that had arisen in his camp. As the French court had, by this time, formed a plan of government for Scotland, by humbling the great landholders, the queen-regent instantly laid hold of the earl's inactivity, to ruin, or at least reduce, him. He was accordingly committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; and her French counsellors were for proceeding capitally against him as a traitor. The queen-regent would have made no difficulty in this, had she not seen how disagreeable the proposal was to the earl of Cassils, and other noblemen. The charges, however, brought against him were of so heinous a nature, that she found means to deprive him of the earldom of Murray, the lordship of Abernethy, the government of Orkney and Shetland, the administration of the earldom of Mar, with other

A. D. 1555. valuable estates; and, to crown all, he was sentenced to be banished five years in France. Buchanan has loaded the memory of this nobleman, the most powerful then in Scotland, with many atrocious charges, founded chiefly on family reports. There can be little doubt of his having been guilty of some acts of tyranny, (and what great nobleman, in those days, was not?) in a country where he considered himself independent, and as the paramount lord. It must likewise be admitted, that the earl of Cassils, Buchanan's patron and favourite, acted with wisdom and justice, in consenting that Huntley's power should be abridged and restricted; but that his life should be saved, and his banishment remitted. It must, however, be owned, that his punishment came with a bad grace from the queen-regent; but he shewed himself superior to all resentment; and continued so firm in his duty, that he was soon after admitted into the privy-council.

The parliament of Scotland was, at this time, sitting; and, on the twentieth of July, had registered a revocation, made by the young queen at Fontainebleau, for recalling all reversions and other grants, made by the late regent-duke, to the detriment of the royal domain. Historians have, with great propriety, commended the zeal and attention of Mr. Henry Saintclare, dean of Glasgow, and vice-president

president of the college of justice, at this time, A. D. 1555.
 for regulating the proceedings of law-courts,
 and reviving some of the most salutary laws Proceed-
 of the former reigns, besides correcting many ings of the
 abuses which had crept into the police of the parliament.
 country. Other laws were made for the ad-
 vancement of the revenue; for dissolving all
 dangerous associations among subjects; and for
 severely punishing all reports to the disadvan-
 tage of the French residing in Scotland.

The session being over, the queen-regent no-
 minated the earls of Argyle and Athol (but
 the latter only was employed) to perform the
 service in which Huntley had failed. He was
 so successful, that he subdued the outlaws,
 and brought Moidart, their head, prisoner to
 Edinburgh. All his punishment was, his be-
 ing confined to Perth, from whence he soon
 escaped, perhaps by connivance, that he and
 his friends might continue to be checks upon
 Huntley and the Gordons.

Hitherto the French king had reaped but lit-
 tle benefit from his connections with Scotland,
 which now assumed an aspect very different
 from what they had formerly worn. He knew
 that the Scots had nothing to apprehend from
 the queen of England; and that she was far
 from having any ambitious designs upon their
 country. He found that the remittances, which
 had been made by his father and himself of
 men, money, provisions, and all kind of war-
 like

A new sys-
 tem of go-
 vernment.

THE HISTORY

like stor- into Scotland, had been equally ex-
 penfive and inconvenient for his own affairs;
 and he resolved to pursue measures for making
 the Scots defray their own charges in their
 future differences with England. But it was
 easy to foresee, from the general disposition of
 the Scots, that this must be impracticable, as
 long as the queen-regent and her clergy con-
 tinued their violent persecutions of the Re-
 formed.

It was, therefore, necessary to soften
 the friends of the Reformation, by calling a par-
 liament, in the summer of the year 1556, where
 the barons of Brunston and Grange, Balnaves and
 others, who had been outlawed and forfeited for
 the murder of cardinal Beaton, were pardoned
 and restored to their country, upon the French
 king's intercession. This lenity had not the de-
 sired effect. The queen and her associates had,
 under pretence of building a fort near Kelso,
 adopted the plan of a land-tax, by surveying
 and registering the estates of the subjects, which
 was to be applied to the payment of the troops
 that served upon the borders. As this measure
 was entirely French, it was likewise plausible,
 as it eased the great noblemen of their trouble-
 some and expensive attendances in the field;
 and the public might always depend on the pro-
 tection of a well disciplined body of troops.

I do not perceive, that the assembly, in which
 this tax was agreed to, was a parliament; for
 it is called in the records, a great federunt of
 bishops,

1556.

Keith's
 Appendix,
 p. 70.

Unpopular
 tax imposed;

A. D. 1556.

bishops, earls, abbots, and lords, calling themselves the lords of secret council. Letters having been issued to the sheriffs, and other officers, for levying this tax, they were received with great coldness all over the kingdom. When the parliament met on the second of May, the lords of articles, who were Frenchmen, clergymen, and courtiers, presented a regular and precise plan for the valuation of all the lands in Scotland; which the landholders, in general, very justly thought was intended as a prelude to their own slavery, and to the rendering their country a province of France, and governing it by a standing army. The punishment which Huntley had so lately undergone, deterred many of the great nobility from publicly expressing their disapprobation of this measure; but it was otherwise with the middling ranks. They were prompted, according to some, by the earl of Angus, who was still alive; and no fewer than three hundred of them met at Edinburgh, to consult upon the means of avoiding so shameful a thralldom. Their behaviour, on this occasion, was dutiful, but firm; and their measures, such as became good patriots to pursue. They deputed two of their own number, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and John Wemyss of Wemyss, men of approved virtue, moderation, and authority, to repair to the queen-regent, to lay before her, in the strongest terms, the novelty and ignominy of this taxation.

They

A. D. 1556.

but repelled
by the
Scots.

They represented the gross affront done to their country, in hiring mercenaries to perform that duty which their ancestors had so long and so gloriously discharged, and which they and their posterity were willing to undertake at the expence of their fortunes and lives. They then explained how dangerous it was for a free people to depend, for the defence of their constitution, upon mercenaries, whose fidelity hung upon the wheel of fortune; that mercenaries never could defend the properties of others with the same zeal and spirit as the proprietors themselves, who had their estates, their wives, children, religion, and liberties, at stake. They represented how ineffectual the measure, proposed, was for the purpose intended; that Scotland was unable to raise money for paying a standing body of troops; and if the English, a people of far greater riches, should enter upon the same scheme, by paying, cloathing, and disciplining their men, the frontiers must soon, instead of being defended, be exposed to a warlike enemy, who would not fail to penetrate into the very vitals of the kingdom. They concluded, by telling her majesty in plain terms, that the tax, however, plausible it might appear, was so unpopular, that it could not be levied; and that the public suspected that it was intended as the means of gratifying private and unjustifiable purposes, especially by the great number of places which the very collecting it must create.

The

The above are a few of the many arguments urged by the delegates of the Scotch landholders on this occasion, as given by Buchanan. The intelligent reader may easily perceive, that they have proved to be so many common-places, from which modern politicians have drawn their chief reasonings against standing armies, with a few alterations, according to circumstances, and those seldom for the better. Other authors, of different principles from Buchanan, have represented the transaction with little or no variation. The harangues of the deputies, their resolute manly address, and, perhaps, above all, the numbers and power of their constituents, to which the queen was no stranger, dismayed her; but recollecting herself with great presence of mind, and an apparent frankness, she told them, that she now saw her mistake, and was willing to remit the tax. Buchanan insinuates, as if the earl of Huntley, and Panter bishop of Ross, a friend to the Hamiltons, advised her to this taxation, with a view of ruining her and driving the French out of Scotland. This is by no means likely. We can scarcely doubt, considering the character of the people, and the situation of their affairs at the time, that the proposal was entirely French, whose insolence and presumption in countries where they have an ascendancy, have always been remarkable. The queen-regent might very possibly say, to the deputies themselves,

A. D. 1556. that the project came originally from Scotchmen; and might even point at the persons of the nobleman and the prelate, to render them suspected with their countrymen, and to throw the load of unpopularity from off herself, and her French counsellors. Bishop Lesley himself, the devoted advocate of her and her daughter's administration, admits, that the French had their share in the design; but the Scots, in general, thought (I believe with more justice) that they were its sole authors; for it is agreed by all historians, that after this, they were detested by the bulk of the people. It is, at the same time, certain, that the wisest and most intelligent part of the nation had, for some years, looked upon them with a jealous eye.

Behaviour
of the
queen-re-
gent,

If we make allowances for the education and prepossessions of Mary of Lorrain, the queen-regent, it must be admitted, that she shewed great talents for government, and a resolution uncommon to her sex. Understanding that the northern parts of the kingdom were still in an unsettled state, she undertook a progress thither, in person, to restore the administration of justice, and reinforce the authority of the laws. Her vigour, in this expedition, was equal to that of the bravest kings. She held justice-courts, and punished offenders wherever she came. Arriving at Inverness, which may be called the capital of those outlaws, who, depending upon their bogs

bogs and fastnesses, bade defiance to govern-
ment, she revived the ordinance of James
the fifth, which declares the chieftains of clans
answerable for the behaviour of their depend-
ents and vassals, if they do not bring them to
justice. This order, which in a civilized coun-
try sounds so harshly, had a wonderful effect
with those barbarians. Some of the chieftains
made use of it for reducing their rebellious
dependents; and we are told, by Sir James
Balfour, that the chief of the Grant family
laid at the queen's feet the heads of some of
his own relations, who chose to die, rather
than submit themselves to a court of justice.
The earl of Caithness, and Mackay of Strath-
naver, were the only chieftains of any conse-
quence, who shewed a disregard to the ordi-
nance, by not presenting their friends and fol-
lowers to justice. The former was made a pri-
soner, and fined in a large sum of money. The
earl of Sutherland, who had been the chief
sufferer by the depredations of the Mackays,
was employed to reduce the latter; and a squa-
dron of ships, under the command of Hugh
Kennedy, blocked them up by sea; so that the
chief, Mackay, was obliged to surrender him-
self to Kennedy; and he was, by the queen,
committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle. The
reduction of this eminent chieftain daunted
the heads of the other more distant and un-

Balfour's
MSS.

A.D. 1556. ruly clans so greatly, that they gave hostages for their quiet behaviour.

Her success
in the north
of Scot-
land.

During this successful expedition of the queen-regent in the north, Mary queen of England was, with some difficulty, brought to enter as a principal into her husband's quarrel with France; but without any intention of her breaking with Scotland. Besides the differences, in point of religion, between her and her sister Elizabeth, she naturally considered the latter as an adulterous bastard, and young Mary, queen of Scotland, as true heir to the crown of England. It is here no digression to say, that had it not been for the differences between her husband and the court of France, and the intrigues of the house of Austria, she would not have hesitated in setting aside the succession of Elizabeth, and declaring Mary her heir. Mary of England had lately suppressed an insurrection under one Stafford, who pretended that England was becoming a province of Spain; and the English ministers were at great pains to persuade their mistress, that he had been encouraged by the queen-regent. The latter complained, by her ambassador, Carnegie, of this suspicion, as disrespectful to her character; but, at the same time, the court of France perceiving that their project of a land taxation in Scotland had proved abortive, was daily sending over to Scotland men,

men, arms, and money; and the French troops lay dispersed along the frontiers. The condition of England was certainly, at this time, very deplorable. The detestation in which its queen and her bloody counsellors were held, had enervated the hands of her government. The whole military force of the nation had been directed under the earl of Pembroke, against the French on the continent. The earl of Shrewsbury, who was president of the council of the north, sent repeated advices to court, with his opinion, that a war was inevitable; and that all the preparations of the queen-regent, upon the borders, tended to a rupture. Orders were expedited for the earl, and the principal nobility and gentry of the north, to have their men in readiness to march against the Scots; and the earl was commissioned to put all the places on the frontiers in a defensible posture. When the English army took the field, such was the debility of their government, that they had neither arms, victuals, nor ammunition for making the campaign. All the earl of Shrewsbury could do, when he arrived at Newcastle, on the twenty-third of May, was to reinforce the garrison of Berwick with five hundred men; but even they, as appears in a letter from the lord Wharton, dated the third of June, to the same earl, were destitute of every thing. A small supply of money, however, sent to the earl, and the

A. D. 1556. the good conduct of those two noblemen, retarded hostilities from breaking out for some time. Such was the situation of affairs between the two kingdoms, when the English court proposed a fresh negotiation for settling the affairs of the borders. The queen-regent was then returning from Inverness, and was holding courts of justice at Elgin, Bamf, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth; where the criminals often compounded for their penalties with money. The earl of Huntley, the bishop of Ross, and Hugh Kennedy, were charged with the affairs of the north; and had a legal power for proceeding against delinquents in a judiciary way.

A Russian
embassador
wrecked on
the coast.

Before I proceed to the more important affairs between Scotland and England, it is here proper to mention an incident recorded, but very imperfectly, by Scotch historians. An intercourse had been opened by means of one Chaloner, an English merchant, between Russia and England; and the great duke had sent one of his chief noblemen, called Joseph, as his embassador to England, under Chaloner's care, who had three ships in his company. The ship which carried Chaloner and the embassador, was wrecked on the coast of Buchan in Scotland; and Chaloner saved the embassador, but was himself drowned. According to English accounts, all that remained of the wreck was seized on by the people of the country; but it is certain that the embassador and his
surviving

surviving retinue were brought to Edinburgh, where they were most hospitably entertained by the queen-regent, who received letters of thanks from the queen of England; and the ambassador was most honourably escorted to Berwick by the lord Hume, and five hundred gentlemen on horseback. About this time we are told, that an ambassador, one Hother Tranberne, came to Scotland from the dukes of Oldenburg, and renewed the antient league between the Scots and the Embdeners. A. D. 1556.

The queen-regent not having, as yet, disposed the Scotch parliament to a rupture with England, omitted no act of hostility, on her part, that could bring it about. The mayor and treasurer of Berwick had been murdered by the Carrs, and no satisfaction had been obtained, because of the disorders committed by the lord Dacres against the Scots. A squadron of Scotch ships at Holy Island, had taken thirteen English vessels of considerable burthen, and they had been condemned as lawful prizes in the ports of Leith, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Notwithstanding those provocations, a negociation was still going forward upon the borders. The commissioners for the English were the earl of Westmoreland, and the bishop of Durham, the lords Dacres and Wharton. Those for Scotland were the bishop of Dumblain, Maitland of Ledington, and Macgil, keeper of the public records in Scotland. Their first meeting was
at

Disturbances on the borders.

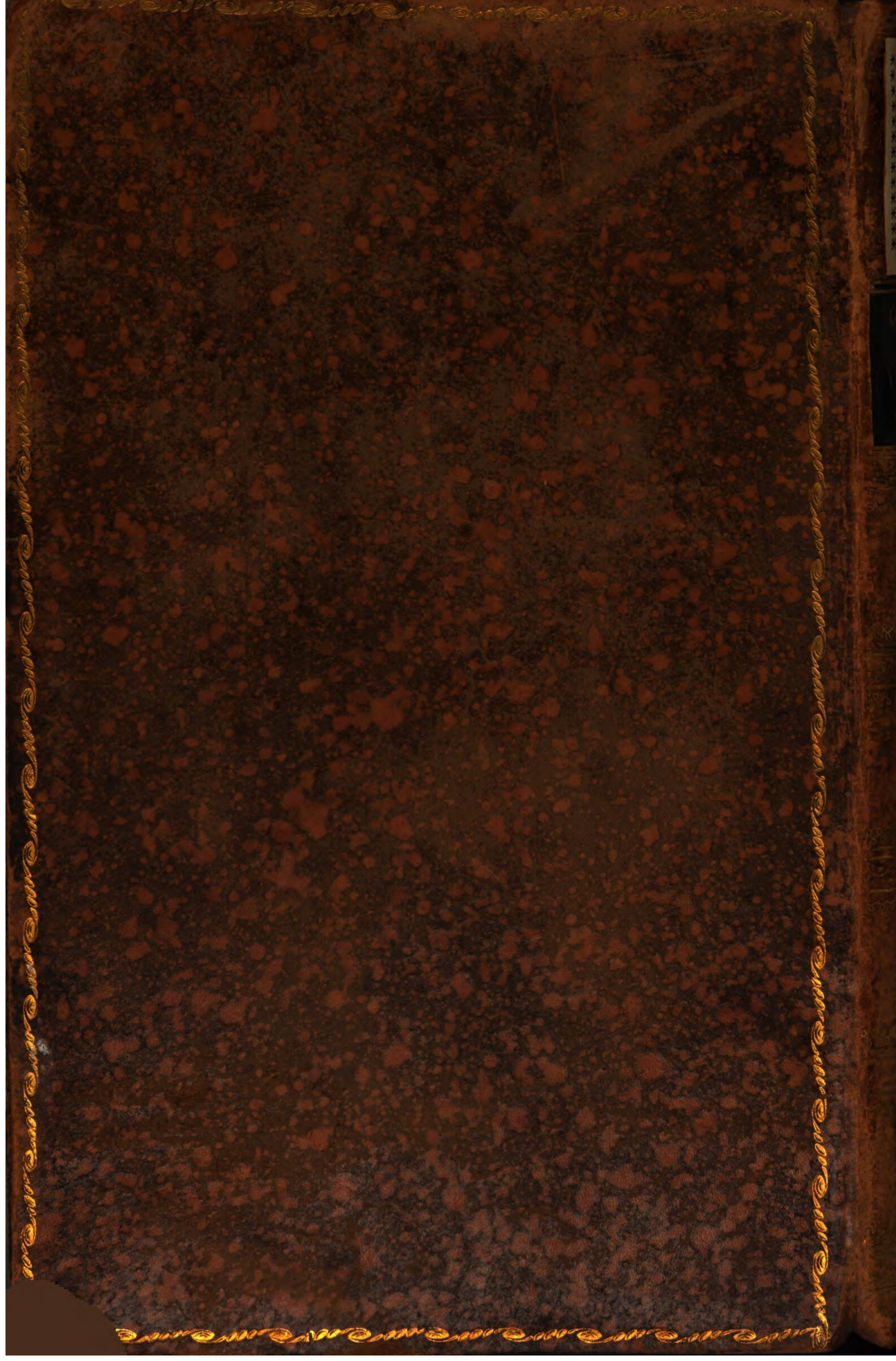
A. D. 1556. at Dunfe, where Maitland, a young man of great vivacity and address, and affecting to be a man of business, but without sufficient experience to recommend him, took the lead in the conferences, and endeavoured, on the part of the Scots, to justify, or palliate, all the late infractions of the peace between the two crowns. These were so glaring, that the negotiation broke off; but though, even at that time, D'Oyffel was building the fort at Eymouth, which the English so much complained of, Maitland, by his insinuating manner, prevailed upon them to renew the conferences, with new commissioners, on both sides, at Carlisle *.

* Those for Scotland were Robert Reid bishop of Orkney, Henry Sinclair dean of Glasgow, and Sir Robert Carnegie, (both senators of the college of justice) and the lord Harries, warden of the western marches, on the part of Scotland; and Cuthbert Tonsal bishop of Durham, the lord Dacres and Whar-ton, on the part of England. Keith's Hist. of Scot. p. 71.

END of the FIFTH VOLUME.







Guthrie, William, 1708-1770

A general history of Scotland

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